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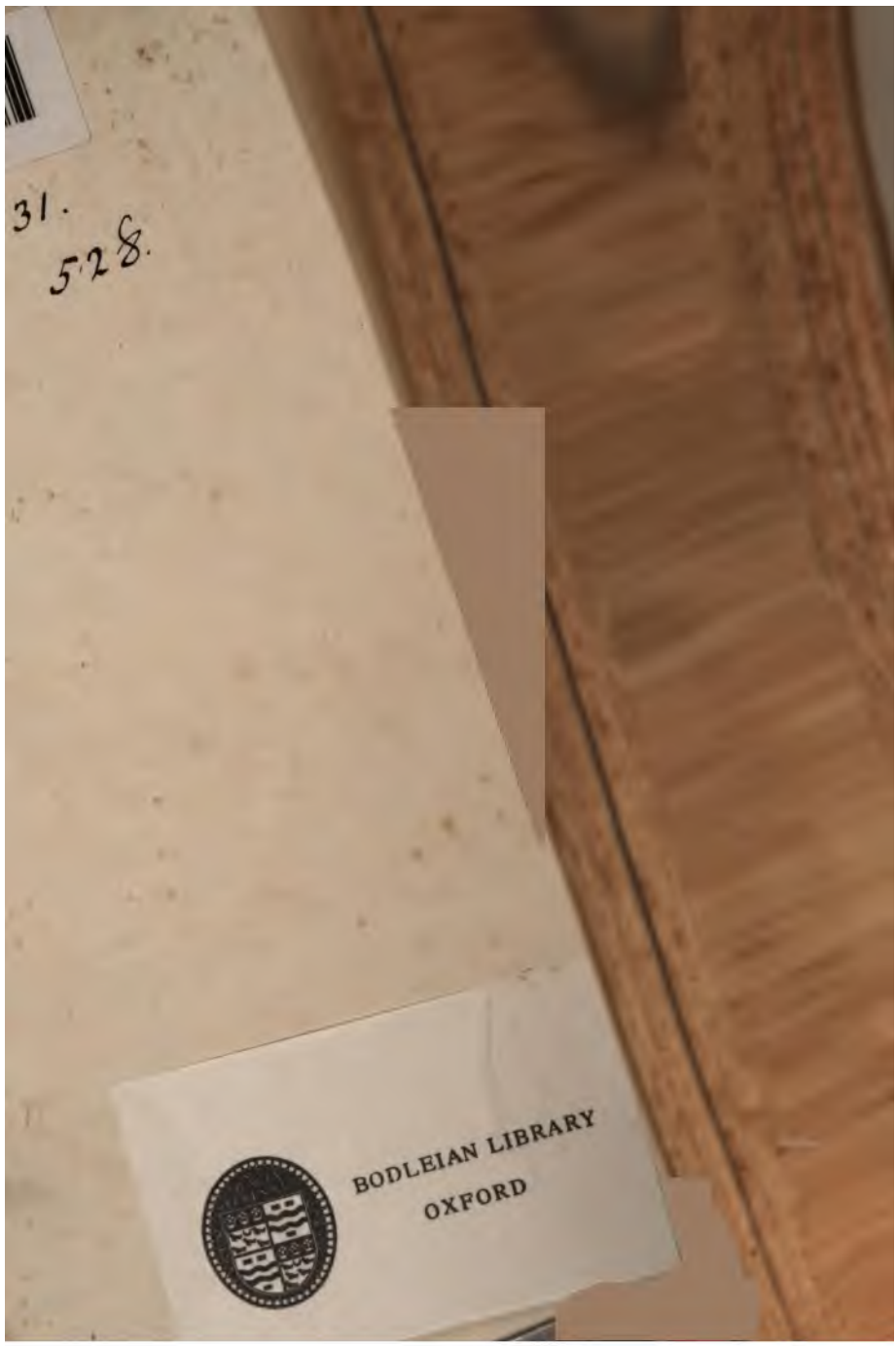
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MEMOIRS

OF THE

AFFAIRS OF GREECE;

CONTAINING

AN ACCOUNT OF THE MILITARY AND POLITICAL EVENTS,
WHICH OCCURRED IN 1823 AND FOLLOWING YEARS.

WITH

VARIOUS ANECDOTES

RELATING TO

LORD BYRON,

AND

AN ACCOUNT OF HIS LAST ILLNESS AND DEATH.

BY JULIUS MILLINGEN,

SURGEON TO THE BYRON BRIGADE AT MESOLONGHI, AND TO THE
GREEK ARMY IN WESTERN GREECE, PELOPONNESUS, &c.

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR JOHN RODWELL,
BOND-STREET.

1831.

Having the honour to be recommended by William Smith, Esq. Member for Norwich, he had the satisfaction of having his proposals accepted by the Committee. Letters of recommendation were, in consequence, delivered to him by the secretary of the Committee; one of which was addressed to the Greek government, the other to Lord Byron. At the same time the Philanthropic Society of Friends supplied him with the requisite medicines and surgical instruments.

On the 27th of August, 1823, the author embarked on board the Hope, bound to Corfu, in company of two Prussian officers of cavalry and artillery, and two Philhellene volunteers, one English, the other Saxon; sent also by the Greek Committee.

It is here proper to state, that these Memoirs would have been published some time since; had not the Author been restrained by a consideration, that their publicity might

have prejudiced the Greek cause; and that at a time, when Greece was in a situation of great danger.

These considerations happily exist no longer; and Greece, free and independent, has to rely in future on her own exertions, rather than on the assistance of foreign nations.

So many accounts have been published of Greek affairs, that the present attempt may appear somewhat presumptuous: but peculiar circumstances having placed the author in a situation, where he enjoyed opportunities of acquiring information, of which others were deprived, he has been induced to offer these pages to the public in the hope, that they may be found to contain some matter, which may be not only useful in the present day; but decidedly so to the future historian. The author has been impelled, alsó, by a desire of giving a decided and official negative

to certain aspersions on his moral and professional character; which would, perhaps, have been entirely passed over, as unworthy of notice—since they are founded on any thing but truth—had he not conceived, that some persons might be induced to put a wrong construction on his silence.

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MEMOIRS ON GREECE.

CHAPTER I.

Arrival at Corfu—Introduction to Lord Byron—His view of Greek affairs—Conversation of Lord Byron with Dr. Knox on religious subjects—Intrigues of the Greek chiefs to acquire Lord Byron's favour and confidence.

I ARRIVED at Asso, a small port in the island of Cephalonia, early in November, 1823, in company with Baron Von Quass, a Prussian officer of distinction and of considerable merit; Lieutenant Kindermann, who, led by a desire of serving the Greeks, had given up his commission in the Prussian artillery; and a young Saxon, of the name of Fels, who was returning to Greece in the hope of avenging the death of his twin-brother, who had fallen by his side during the glorious, though unfortunate, affair at Petta.

Being, like many others, bearers of a letter of recommendation from the London Greek Committee to Lord Byron—who, as we were informed, was on the eve of his departure for Greece—we hastened to Ar-

gostoli, whence we forwarded it to Metaxata, a village at a few miles' distance, in which, since his arrival in Cephalonia, he had taken up his abode.

The next day, Count Gamba, a young nobleman of Ravenna, who acted as secretary to Lord Byron, came to inform us, that his lordship had come down from the country, and desired to see us. We proceeded accordingly to the Lazaretto, where he received us with the greatest affability, exhibiting the most gentlemanly and elegant manners, bordering perhaps a little on affectation, but not to be surpassed by the most finished courtier. After commending our zeal in favour of the Greek cause, and expressing his readiness to assist us to the utmost of his power, he added, that we would not, he trusted, as many had done, ascribe his prolonged stay in Cephalonia to any diminution of Philhellenism; he had remained here because, notwithstanding the repeated assurances he had received, and the promise he had made of advancing a loan of twenty thousand dollars, the long-expected division of the Greek fleet, which was to raise the blockade of Mesolonghi, had not yet made its appearance. He also waited for the arrival of the deputies, which he had engaged the Greek government to appoint, in order to negotiate a national loan in England, wishing to have private conferences with them on this most important measure. To hasten their departure, and obtain at the same time a correct report on the state of things in the Morea, he had sent to that country Mr. Hamilton Browne, a gentleman highly qualified for the task. He flattered himself, he could not have acted more in conformity with the best interests of Greece than he had hitherto done; and it was his intention, he said, to depart for that country the moment the objects, he had mentioned, should be completely fulfilled.

He assured the German gentlemen, that he would give them letters of recommendation to the Greek government; though he felt it a duty to confess to them plainly his apprehensions, that the Greeks were not in a sufficient state of mental improvement to appreciate either their merits as military men, or the value of their services. In spite of what they had been given to understand in Europe, he feared that their acquirements would prove as unavailing to Greece, for the present, as a bridle would be to one possessing neither saddle nor horse. They would find the country agitated by civil broils and the thousand evils of anarchy, and the mind of every one absorbed by the petty passions, arising from the most absolute egotism. He dwelt in most feeling terms on the disappointment, met with by almost every Philhellene; described the miserably forlorn condition in which they returned from a land, in the defence of which they had often exposed their lives, endured the severest privations, and lost the greater part of their companions in arms. "If, gentlemen," continued he, "you allow yourselves to be influenced by the same illusory ideas, which have led so many others to take a step, of which they repented as soon as reality taught them on how false a basis they had grounded their hopes, you cannot but expect to share the same fate. Yet, if you deem yourselves capable of serving Greece in spite of the Greeks, you might do well to venture on the career, which you propose to run. On the other hand, should you feel the love you bear towards so unfeeling a mistress, not to be proof against the thousand crosses, which inevitably await it, let prudence caution you in time to renounce so misplaced an attachment."

Thoroughly imbued as we were with enthusiastic ideas in favour of the Greeks, that were then prevalent

in England, we could not but feel the most grievous disappointment, on hearing observations so completely at variance with our fondest expectations and the statements, on which we had been taught to rely; and what rendered them the more impressive was the quarter from which they proceeded; Lord Byron being considered by us as a chivalrous friend of the cause.

I had afterwards repeated opportunities of observing, that, on every occasion before strangers, he sought to prove, that in the part he had undertaken, his conduct was influenced rather by prudence and judgment than by any romantic disposition; while before those, whom he treated with familiarity, he delighted in indulging the natural bent of his mind for adventurous and extraordinary undertakings. Addressing himself to me in particular, he wished me to remain in Cephalonia till he himself should embark for Greece. My professional services, he said, would always be valued in a country where there was a great dearth of medical men; and where the name of *doctore* was the best, or rather the only, introduction for a Frank; and he promised to employ me in the corps of troops, he proposed taking into his service on his arrival in that country.

In consequence of his invitation I soon after went to Metaxata, where I remained several days. On my arrival, I found him on the balcony of the house, wrapt in his Stewart tartan cloak, with a cap on his head, which he affected to wear as the Scotch bonnet, attentively contemplating the extensive and variegated view before him, terminated by the blue mountains of Ætolia, Acarnania, and Achaia. The valley below the village is highly luxuriant, and even at this advanced epoch of the year was covered with verdure, and embellished by the evergreen olive, orange and

lemon trees, and cypresses towering above the never-fading laurel and myrtle. Like an oasis in the sandy desert, its aspect produced the most pleasing impression on the eye, weary of the barren and cheerless rocks of Cephalonia.

Being on the point of taking his usual ride, he invited me to accompany him. Greece and the London Committee formed, till our return, the principal topics of conversation. After I had, to the best of my power, satisfied his curiosity by answering the questions he put to me, he said, that notwithstanding the talents of most of its members, he could not help apprehending, that the well-meaning endeavours of the Committee would be attended with very limited success; because their impatience of being useful to the Greeks induced them to act before a competent knowledge had been acquired of their moral disposition and real wants. If they allowed themselves to be guided by Bellier's report, they could not avoid falling into the most egregious errors. Had they taken a correct view of the state of things, they would not have sent, as they had lately done, cavalry and infantry officers to Greece, much less have determined on establishing a laboratory. By acting thus, they not only wasted the funds, intrusted to their care by the public, and drew blame and ridicule on their proceedings, but materially injured the cause, they sought to serve, and occasioned the misfortune of those deluded young men, who placed confidence in their fair but unwarranted assurances. The most essential service, the London Committee could confer upon Greece, would be to exert their influence in facilitating the negotiation of the intended loan; for on the well-directed employment of this aid entirely depended the prosperity of the country both at home and abroad. The sums raised

by private subscription could, comparatively speaking, be of trifling avail, and, at any rate, would be much more beneficial if spent upon the spot by prudent agents, instead of being devoted in England to the relief of wants that, for the most part, are imaginary, or the least urgent.

Having, in the course of conversation, often expressed my surprise at the prodigious difference between his notions with regard to the Greek character and those prevalent in England, he said, "This should not surprise you, for I know this nation by long and attentive experience, while in Europe they judge it by inspiration. The Greeks are perhaps the most depraved and degraded people under the sun; uniting to their original vices both those of their oppressors, and those inherent in slaves. Breaking asunder the frail shackles, which checked their immorality, the late revolution has given the amplest scope to the exhibition of their real character; and it stands to reason, that it must have placed in a more glaring light the melancholy picture of their utter worthlessness. Even under the wisest government, the regeneration of a nation can only be the difficult work of time; and certainly none can be less easily improvable than this."

As I expressed my astonishment how, having so unfavourable an opinion of the Greeks, he should have determined on leaving the comforts of peaceable life to devote his time, talents, and fortune, nay, if necessary, his very existence, for their sake, he replied, after a long pause, "Heartily weary of the monotonous life I had led in Italy for several years; sickened with pleasure; more tired of scribbling than the public, perhaps, is of reading my lucubrations; I felt the urgent necessity of giving a completely new direction to the course of my ideas; and the active,

dangerous, yet glorious scenes of the military career struck my fancy, and became congenial to my taste. I came to Genoa; but far from meditating to join the Greeks, I was on the eve of sailing for Spain, when, informed of the overthrow of the Liberals, and the desperate state of things in that country, I perceived it was too late to join Sir R. Wilson;—and then it was, in the unmanageable delirium of my military fever, that I altered my intention, and resolved on steering for Greece. After all, should this new mode of existence fail to afford me the satisfaction I anticipate, it will at least present me with the means of making a dashing exit from the scene of this world, where the part I was acting had grown excessively dull."

On dinner being served up, although several dishes of meat were upon the table, Lord Byron did not partake of any, his custom being to eat meat only once a month. Soup, a few vegetables, a considerable portion of English cheese, with some fried crusts of bread, and fruit, constituted his daily fare. He eat with great rapidity, and drank freely. There happened to be on the table a roasted capon, the good looks of which so powerfully tempted him, that, after wistfully eyeing it, he was on the point of taking a leg; but suddenly recollecting the rule, he had imposed on himself, he left it in the dish, desiring his servant to let the capon be kept till the next day, when his month would be out.

Lord Byron pretended, that the reason of his abstaining from meat, and of his taking nourishment only once in the course of twenty-four hours, was his having experienced, that his mental powers became thereby more alive and powerful; for nothing blunted or rendered them more torpid than substantial food or frequent eating. Though it is an incontrovertible fact, as

indeed every one must, more or less, have experienced, that the stomach and digestive organs materially operate on the functions of the mind, this was not the cause of Lord Byron's abstemiousness: the real motive being the fear of becoming corpulent, which haunted him continually, and induced him to adopt measures very injurious to his health. I frequently heard him say, "I especially dread, in this world, two things, to which I have reason to believe I am equally predisposed—growing fat and growing mad; and it would be difficult for me to decide, were I forced to make a choice, which of these conditions I would choose in preference." To avoid corpulence, not satisfied with eating so sparingly, and renouncing the use of every kind of food, that he deemed nourishing, he had recourse almost daily to strong drastic pills, of which extract of colocynth, gamboge, scammony, &c. were the chief ingredients; and if he observed the slightest increase in the size of his wrists or waist, which he measured with scrupulous exactness every morning, he immediately sought to reduce it by taking a large dose of Epsom salts, besides the usual pills. No petit-maître could pay more sedulous attention than he did to external appearance, or consult with more complacency the looking-glass. Even when *en negligé*, he studied the nature of the postures he assumed as attentively as if he had been sitting for his picture; and so much value did he attach to the whiteness of his hands, that in order not to suffer "the winds of heaven to visit them too roughly," he constantly, and even within doors, wore gloves. The lameness, which he had from his birth, was a source of actual misery to him; and it was curious to notice with how much coquetry he endeavoured, by a thousand petty tricks, to conceal from strangers this unfortunate malconformation. If

any one fixed a look of curiosity on his foot, he considered it as paramount to a personal insult, and he could not easily forgive it. Sooner than confess, that nature had been guilty of this original defect, he preferred attributing his lameness to the improper treatment of a sprained ankle while he was yet a child; and he even vented himself bitterly against his mother for having neglected to place him in time under the care of a competent surgeon.

Besides the medicines, I have mentioned, he had daily recourse to soda powders or calcined magnesia, in order to neutralize the troublesome acidities, which the immoderate use of Rhenish wines and ardent spirits continually generated in his debilitated stomach. Nothing could be more strange, and at the same time more injurious to health, than the regimen which he had been induced to adopt, and to which, during several years, he unalterably adhered. He rose at half-past ten o'clock, when, by way of breakfast, he took a large basinful of a strong infusion of green tea, without either sugar or milk; a drink, that could not but prove exceedingly prejudicial to a constitution so essentially nervous. At half-past eleven he would set out on a two hours' ride; and on his return his singular and only meal was served up. Having dined, he immediately withdrew to his study, where he remained till dark; when, more willingly than at any other time, he would indulge in conversation: and afterwards he would play at draughts for a while, or take up some volume on light subjects—such as novels, memoirs, or travels. He had unfortunately contracted the habit of drinking immoderately every evening; and almost at every page he would take a glass of wine, and often of undiluted Hollands, till he felt himself under the full influence of liquor. He would then pace up and down the room

till three or four o'clock in the morning; and these hours, he often confessed, were the most propitious to the inspirations of his muse.

This mode of life could not but prove ruinous to his constitution, which, however robust it might originally have been, must necessarily sink under shocks so powerful and so often repeated. The disagreeable symptoms of dyspepsia obliged him to have recourse to the daily use of pharmacy, which, instead of annoying him, seemed to be a business of pleasure, persuaded as he was, that there was no other way of obviating the misfortune of corpulency: but after the evanescent stimulation of alcohol had subsided, hypochondriasis, the inseparable companion of intemperance, plunged him in a condition often bordering on despair.

From the moment Lord Byron embarked in the Greek cause, his mind seemed so completely absorbed by the subject, that it rendered him deaf to the calls of the muse; at least he repeatedly assured us, that, since his departure from Genoa, he had not written a single line: and though it appeared from his conversation, that he was arranging in his head the materials of a future canto of Don Juan, he did not feel his poetical vein sufficiently strong to induce him to venture on the undertaking. It was an invariable habit with him to write by fits and starts, when the impetuosity of his Pegasus could no longer be restrained; and he often observed, that the productions of his pen, to which he was most partial, were those which he had composed with the greatest rapidity. If he ever wrote any thing worth perusing, he had done it, he said, spontaneously and at once; and the value of his poems might, according to him, be rated by the facility he had experienced in composing them, his worst productions (his dramatic pieces) being

those that had given him most trouble. The Bride of Abydos was composed in less than a week; the Corsair in the same space of time; and the Lamentation of Tasso, which he wrote at the request of Teresa of Ravenna, was the business only of two nights.

During his stay at Metaxata, the portion of his time, which was not employed in correspondence with the different chiefs in Greece, and his friends in England, was devoted to reading. Novels, from his earliest youth, were the works in which he delighted most, and they formed almost his sole occupation. So prodigious was the number which he had perused, and so strong was the impression they had left on his memory, that he frequently defied us to mention one, however indifferent, that he had not read, and of which he could not give some account. Sir Walter Scott's were his favourites: and so great was the pleasure he derived from them, so often had they banished from his mind the sad train of thoughts attendant on despondency, that he professed himself bound to their author by ties of the liveliest gratitude; and though habitually frugal of praise, he constantly spoke of this distinguished writer in terms of the most lavish admiration. The conversation happening once to fall on modern poets, on being asked his opinion of Sir Walter, he observed: "I have received so many benefits from him as a novelist, that I cannot find it in my heart to criticise him as a poet." Passing in review the rest of the poets, he gave to each, without exception, a few lashes of that playful but often caustic satire which invariably enlivened his conversation, and rendered it so piquant. Southey and Wordsworth served him as targets against which to vent his bitterest sarcasms. We were not a little surprised to find that he did not spare even *****. It was some time before he

would let out what had indisposed him so much against a man, whom he had publicly called his friend; but he spoke at last of a letter, in which this friend had taken the liberty of censuring him rather freely on the immorality of certain passages of Don Juan; a liberty which was deemed highly misplaced, and by a person so excessively touchy as Lord Byron, and whose vanity, vulnerable on all sides, never overlooked the slightest offence, was not to be forgiven. Small reliance, it would appear, is to be placed on the friendship of poets for each other: like coquettes, they look with an evil eye at any one of their craft, who has pretensions to beauty; and the slightest incident of displeasure is sufficient to cause them to throw off the mask that concealed their enmity.

Among Lord Byron's books there were very few poetical works; and, what may appear strange, he did not possess a copy of his own. Next to the British poets, those which he read in preference were the Italian—Ariosto and Dante more especially. With respect to the ancient classics, he was too indifferent a scholar to be able to peruse the originals with any degree of pleasure. He was as partial to the French prose-writers as he was averse to their poets. He entertained a singular prejudice against every thing that bore the name of this nation; and it may be cited as a proof of the sway, which preconceived opinions exercised over his mind, that not only he would never visit any part of France, but purposely avoided even entering its confines; and absolute necessity alone could induce him to express himself in the French tongue. Italian was the language he used in conversing with foreigners, and he spoke and wrote it with peculiar purity and elegance. It has been supposed by many, that Lord Byron was familiarly acquainted with German literature; and

critics in Europe have often laid imitation and even plagiarism to his charge; yet he certainly understood scarcely one word of that language; and the only knowledge, he possessed of the productions of the most celebrated German authors, was derived from the very limited translations of their works, that have appeared in England.

Historical works, next to novels, were those which he took most pleasure in reading; and indeed his acquaintance with both ancient and modern history might, without exaggeration, be called prodigious. He had devoted peculiar attention to that of the East, a region very imperfectly known; where his imagination always delighted to rove, and from which he drew his finest and most original poetical thoughts. We had often occasion to be astonished at the accuracy, with which he related the minutest details of the most uninteresting facts. So highly was he gifted with memory, that every word he heard that struck, or every passage he read that pleased him, left an indelible impression. Not only could he repeat the finest passages of our classics, but also the most ludicrous of Bombastes Furioso; and we found it difficult, after repeated trials, to cite a line from any poet, he had attentively perused, without his being able to add the lines that followed.

While a member of the Drury Lane Committee for the examination of the theatrical productions presented by different authors, it was his amusement to read the greater portion; and, to our no small entertainment, he often regaled us with extracts from the most nonsensical. His wonderful mnemonic faculties, the rich and variegated store with which he had furnished his mind, his lively, brilliant, and ever-busy imagination, his deep acquaintance with the world, owing to his sagacious

penetration, and the advantageous positions in which, through his birth and other circumstances, he had been placed, conjoined to the highly mercurial powers of his wit, rendered his conversation peculiarly interesting; enhanced, too, as it was by the charm of his fascinating manners. Far from being the surly, taciturn misanthrope, generally imagined, I always found him dwelling on the lightest and merriest subjects, carefully shunning discussions, and whatever might give rise to unpleasing reflections. Almost every word with him was a jest; and he possessed the talent of passing from subject to subject with a lightness, an ease, and a grace, that could with difficulty be matched. Communicative to a degree, that raised our surprise, and might, not unfrequently, be termed indiscretion, he related anecdotes of himself, his friends, and even of the females, to whom he had been bound by the tenderest ties, which he might as well have kept secret*. Many, perhaps, will regard

* Of the numerous anecdotes I heard him relate of himself on different occasions, several have already been communicated to the public, others will be found dispersed in the pages of these Memoirs, while many, for more than one valid reason, must remain untold. I flatter myself, however, that two or three which I shall record here will not prove unacceptable to the reader, since, while they tend to illustrate the character of this interesting poet, no one's feelings can be hurt by them.

During his stay at Venice, Maria Louisa, the Ex-Empress of France, paid a visit to that remarkable city. A translation of our poet's Ode on Napoleon happening to be read to her, she was so moved by the beauties of the composition, that she expressed a strong wish to become acquainted with its author. The English consul, on being apprised of this, sought to procure an opportunity of presenting him without his undergoing the formality of etiquette, against which he had strongly declared himself. Knowing the hour at which he was accustomed to take his ride at the Lido, he so disposed matters that the ex-empress came to the spot at the moment Lord B. was preparing to quit it. He accordingly rode up to him and informed him of her highness the

this circumstance as incredible; but the apparent contradictions, existing in his character, are not the

Duchess of Parma and Piacenza's desire, and said, that, if he felt inclined, he would be happy to introduce him. Happening to be in one of his sullen moods, Lord Byron replied, "I beg you will inform her highness that I should have esteemed it an honour to be presented to the Empress of France; but that I feel, as to a Duchess of Parma, differently disposed." And he rode off, leaving the consul to convey this mortifying message.

During the earlier part of his youth, his then very limited revenues were soon exhausted by his extravagant expenses in London, and especially by his frequenting the gaming-houses. He had borrowed so much from the usurers, that none were to be found humane enough to advance him any further sum, at whatever interest he offered. One morning, after a sleepless night, spent at one of those establishments, in which he had lost all his money, he heard a coach stop before his lodgings, and soon after saw a young lady of rank, who had given him proofs of the most ardent attachment, enter his room. She held a small casket in her hand, and on depositing it on the table, told him, that hearing of the pecuniary misfortunes he had met with, and fearing he might find himself in embarrassed circumstances, she had brought him all her jewels and money, and requested he would accept them as proofs of her affection. "Go and take back with you," said Lord B. sternly, "your trinkets and money. I am not a man to be imposed upon by cant; and you know full well, that you would never have brought such things to me, had you supposed me vile enough to accept them."

Mention being once made before him of the frequent errors of judgment, into which a person may be led by the appearances of physiognomy, he observed: "You are young men, and may therefore have occasion to derive benefit from this precept of mine: never give your entire faith to any one whose eyes are gray." On its being remarked to him, that his own were of that very colour, he added: "Do not think I consider myself an exception to this, I might say, universal rule: it would have been well for many, who have had to deal with me, had they been guided by it."

Lord B. often boasted of his being at heart devoutly aristocratical, and confessed, that he had inherited completely his mother's disposition, who, according to him, was perhaps the proudest woman in England. Want of manners and of respect were faults which, even in republican Greece, he could never forgive. For instance, the insurmountable dislike, he professed against Dr.

less true because they appear singular. Those only, who lived for some time with him, could believe that a man's temper, Proteus like, was capable of assuming so many shapes. It may literally be said, that at different hours of the day he metamorphosed himself into four or more individuals, each possessed of the most opposite qualities; for, in every change, his natural impetuosity made him fly into the furthermost extremes. In the course of the day he might become the most morose, and the most gay; the most melancholy, and the most frolicsome; the most generous, and the most penurious; the most benevolent, and the most misanthropic; the most rational, and the most childish; the most sublime and elevated in thought, and the most frivolous or trivial; the most gentle being in existence, and the most irascible. His works bear the stamp of his character, and Childe Harold is no less a faithful picture of him at one part of the day, than Don Juan is at another.

During my stay at Metaxata I almost daily saw

Meyer, arose entirely from his having observed him, one day, sit down, without being invited, to Colonel Stanhope's table, and help himself to a tumbler of porter. So strong was his aversion to him on this account, that he expressly forbad his servants ever to allow him to enter his room; and during his last illness he would, on no account, agree to the doctor's being called into consultation. He often dwelt with peculiar satisfaction on the numerous quarters of his own pedigree, the extensive ramifications of the Byron line, and the illustrious individuals, who had borne the name.

During his last illness, he consented, after some difficulty, to two extra physicians being called in; but insisted on my solemnly promising him, that not a question should be asked, or a word uttered in his hearing, during their stay in his room. Accordingly, being apprised of this, after feeling his pulse, inspecting his tongue, and observing the symptoms, indicated by his bodily appearance, they immediately withdrew in silence into an adjoining apartment: but he fixed me stedfastly all the time, and once or twice said, "See that you keep your promise."

Suliots, who came purposely to present themselves to Lord Byron. Since the late restoration of their country, many of them had continued to remain with their families in different parts of the Ionian Islands, while the greater portion, under the guidance of the Zavellas, Fotamaras, Lambro Veico, and the Bozzaris, had crossed over to Continental Greece, and covered themselves with glory in the defence of Mesolonghi, and Anatolico, at Carpenisi, and in fact, on almost every occasion where they had to cope with the enemy.

The most distinguished among those who appeared at Metaxata was Nothi Bozzari, the uncle of the celebrated Marco; a venerable old man, sixty years of age, the Nestor of the Suliot chiefs. He heard, with tears in his eyes, the promise, which Lord Byron made, of taking under his immediate protection the remainder of the brave population of Suli, and inlisting in his service all those, who were capable of bearing arms. The number of these were reduced to about 600 men, from the age of seventeen to sixty. Misfortune, instead of abating their courage, animated them more powerfully to revenge the injuries they had received in the loss of their country and the greater part of their brethren. Lord Byron felt a deep interest in favour of the Suliots; he knew the fine features of the history of their ancestors, the gallant manner in which, though a handful only of men, they had not only kept at bay, during many years, the powerful Ali Pasha, but caused him, the terror of Albania, to tremble in his turn at Joanina. He now witnessed the misery of these distressed beings, and, considering himself as the father of this adopted population, he supplied the wants of the most necessitous families, and procured the men the means of crossing over to Greece, where he assured them he would shortly join them, and incorporate

them all into one legion. The discovery of the impositions practised upon him by several of the Suliots did not render his benevolence the less active; it was, in his eye, the consequence of Albanian cunning, grafted on Ionian corruption; and he merely blamed himself for being so short-sighted, and felt the necessity of more caution in future. The numerous acts of charity, performed by him during his stay in Cephalonia, will long endear his name to the inhabitants. His heart had learnt to melt at others' woe, for here, and wherever he went, if mention were made before him of an unfortunate, he would not rest satisfied till he had fully relieved his wants.

Although Lord Byron's house was open to every stranger, yet the number of visitors was extremely limited, owing chiefly to the smallness of the circle of society on this island. The individuals, whom he received with most pleasure, were Colonel Napier, Dr. Knox, and Conte Delladecima, a Cephaloniot nobleman, of considerable shrewdness, sound judgment, and deep acquaintance with the Greek character. The first of these gentlemen, who was then at Cephalonia, soon acquired, by his generous and chivalrous qualities, the entire esteem of Lord Byron. So much did he value his opinion on Greek affairs, that he never took a step without previously consulting him; he submitted to his approbation his future plans, and modified them according to his directions. During a tour in Greece, the colonel had made numerous observations on the military features of the country; and his political situation in the Ionian Islands enabled him to form a correct estimate both of the good and evil dispositions of the Greeks, with whom he was in daily intercourse, and of the government and institutions, which befitted their character. Impelled by the desire of consecrating his talents to the

furtherance of the welfare of this interesting nation, and yielding to Lord Byron's entreaties, he shortly after departed for England, with the intention of selling his commission and rejoining his friend at Mesolonghi. Had not Providence disposed otherwise of events, there can be no doubt, that the co-operation of these two enlightened individuals would have conferred the greatest benefits on Greece, and have materially contributed to the consolidation of order and liberty.

Dr. Knox, besides possessing considerable talents as a physician, was also conspicuous for his piety; and on Lord Byron's arrival, he confidently undertook the task of converting him. But he soon found, notwithstanding the depth of his theological learning, and the power of his reasoning and his eloquence, that he was incompetent to elude the sophistry of his opponent; who, so far from being ignorant of the Scriptures, as might have been supposed, always set him right, when he happened not to be accurate in his quotations from them. The attempt was accordingly fruitless and unavailing, as far as conversion was concerned: but, in compliance with the doctor's request, and to prove that he was far from being an enemy to the Christian religion, he undertook to act at Mesolonghi as agent to the Bible Society; and, on his arrival there, he piled up at the entrance of his receiving-room the numerous Bibles and religious tracts, that had been intrusted to his care, and seldom neglected to offer copies to his visitors. Though it may appear singular, it is not the less true, that he read every day a chapter in the Bible; and he mentioned to us, one evening, his having just finished the book of Genesis. Indeed, during the whole of my acquaintance with him, I never heard

him turn the Christian religion into ridicule: on the contrary, he frequently confessed, that nothing could be more unfair than to make derision of those, who believed in it; for in this strange world, he said, it was alike difficult to know what is and what is not to be believed; and by many freethinkers doctrines were laid down, that are as much above human comprehension, as the mysteries of revelation themselves.

The news of Lord Byron's arrival, together with the exaggerated reports as to the extent of his wealth, the mighty assistance he was bringing with him to Greece, and the anticipation of a loan, raised so great an interest among the mass of its population, that they almost expected him as a Messiah; and scarcely a less lively fermentation was produced among the chiefs. Each of the numerous parties that, animated by the demon of discord, were on the eve of plunging their country into all the horrors of civil war, as well as many of the principal civil and military characters, hastened to send to Cephalonia their respective representatives; or addressed to him letter after letter, in which, after heaping upon him all the encomiums, that flattery could suggest, they depreciated or blackened as much as possible all those, who did not side with them, while they largely extolled their own purity of intention and patriotic conduct. Their cupidity left no intrigue unpractised to defeat the plans of their rivals, and secure to themselves a friend, who, as they fondly believed, would prove a help to their private interests and selfish views of aggrandisement, which was all they cared for. Mavrocordato had sent his secretary Praïdi; and Colocotrone and Andrea Metaxa had numerous panegyrists on the island, who hourly rung their praises in his ears. Anargyri of Athens, deputed by the senate, soon after

appeared at Metaxata; while Londo reminded the new-comer of their former acquaintance and friendship.

Much credit is certainly due to Lord Byron for the prudence which, under these circumstances, characterised his conduct. He was deaf to the voice of flattery, and withstood both the allurements of ambition and the powerful enticement, which romantic enterprises could not fail to exert on his warm imagination. Divesting himself of every preconceived opinion, he calmly sought to discover, amidst so many contradictory and unfavourable statements, the path that would best lead him to the attainment of his wish, which was the welfare of his newly-adopted country. His conduct on this occasion appears the more to his advantage, when contrasted with that of the individual, whom the Greek Committee judged the most competent to act the part of their agent in Greece, and best qualified by his judgment to put into execution the various plans, devised by them, to supply what they thought the most pressing wants of its population.

CHAPTER II.

Arrival of Colonel Stanhope—German Philhellenes—their disappointment and ill treatment by the Greeks—their distress—Negotiations for a loan—Divisions among the Greek chiefs—Design of Colocotrone against the government—Lord Byron defers his departure for the Morea.

TOWARDS the end of November, Colonel Stanhope landed at Argostoli. Anxious to reach as soon as possible the scene of action, he hastened to embark for Peloponnesus. Before his departure, Lord Byron, though far from agreeing with him in opinion, relative to the affairs of Greece, furnished him with letters of recommendation to the Greek government and to Mavrocordato; which, though highly interesting, as being the most authentic documents to illustrate the feelings, which then animated their noble writer, I shall omit here; the public being already in possession of them.

By the same ship, which conveyed the colonel from Ancona to Cephalonia, several poor Greek, Chiot, and Aïvaliot refugees arrived, whose passage had been paid for by this humane officer, and two German Philhellenes. Of these two, one was a personage, already mentioned, of the name of Bellier, who, after serving several years as a subaltern in a Prussian regiment, had been expelled from it. During a first trip to Greece, where, though he had not heard even the report of a Turkish gun, he performed, according to the narrative he published, the most chivalrous exploits in the *himmelhohen bergen von Acarnanien*,

and, like many others, obtained for his pretended services the rank of colonel, and was made a knight of the order of Minerva, which, except in the imagination of men of his cloth, never existed. These marks of distinction—the title of marquis, which he assumed on his way to London, his swaggering language and bold assurance—gained him a ready introduction to the Greek Committee, whose confidence he at length so completely engrossed, that, implicitly relying on his statements, they were led into numberless errors, of which they must afterwards have bitterly repented: so completely is the judgment of the wisest men sometimes overruled by their wishes.

His success with the Prussians, whom the Committee sent out with him to Greece, was not equally flattering. When the proposal of proceeding to that country, under the orders of Bellier, was made to them by its secretary, they formally declared, that, so far from obeying, they would not even associate with a man, who bore at home so equivocal a character. His companion was a young Bavarian of the name of Kolbe, who was on his return from Darmstadt to the Greek Committee, to which place he had been deputed by the unfortunate remains of the small regiment, which had been despatched to Greece from Marseilles in 1822, at the expense of the German and Swiss Philhellenic committees, who placed that corps under the command of Cephalas. Kolbe had been charged to represent to them the unfavourable reception, his companions in arms had met with, their complete disappointment in their fondest expectations, and to pourtray the miserable and forlorn position, in which they languished at Anapli, worn out by sickness and privation, and destitute even of daily bread; lastly, to solicit from

the charity of their countrymen the funds, necessary to enable them to leave a country, where their services were considered as superfluous. It was truly lamentable, and of most inauspicious augury, to see the Greeks neglect to avail themselves of so valuable a present from the German committee, and not turn to their advantage the military talents and enthusiasm of individuals who had volunteered so generously in this corps. Their conduct in this instance speaks volumes against their patriotism. A corps of two thousand men might have been fully equipped with the materials brought to Greece on this occasion; nothing being wanting, not even the band. The inlistment of private soldiers was the only task left to the government; and it was not unreasonable for Swiss or Germans, judging from their own feelings, and those which, in like circumstances, would animate every nation in Europe, to expect that the Greeks would vie with one another for the honour of being the first to join hand in hand with an establishment, from which their country might expect to derive the most signal advantages. Under the guidance of a wise and patriotic administration, this regiment might have served as a preparatory school both for Greek soldiers and officers. It would gradually have spread discipline through every province, and thus have created a force, owing to the absence of which the authority of the government had been, and still remained, as perfectly illusory at home as its efforts were unavailing elsewhere.

As soon as Cephalas' arrival at Hydra was known at Anapli, masking their unpatriotic fears under the apprehension of the danger, that might possibly ensue from the importation of so many muskets, &c. into a fortress, the executive sent immediate orders to the

colonel to place whatever military stores, he had brought with him in depôt on the island, till the senate should determine their future employment; and he and his officers were directed to proceed to the seat of government. Arriving there, they presented themselves to the legislative and executive bodies, explained the object of their mission, and commented on the advantages, that would accrue to the nation from the formation of a disciplined army. Unfortunately, most of the men, to whom they addressed their observations, were the very individuals, who, enemies to good order and the consolidation of the constitution, had already established themselves like autocrats in their respective provinces, and sought, by perpetuating anarchy, freely to indulge under its auspices their unjust and avaricious dispositions. They had assumed the reins of constitutional authority, to keep them out of the hands of the true patriots; and to thwart the more easily every measure, which the wiser part of the nation might adopt, for the purpose of subverting their power, which hung perhaps more heavily on the neck of the people than even the Turkish yoke they had just thrown off. In this state of things, it must occasion little surprise, that these and so many other Philhellenes of merit were unwelcome to men, to whom their discourses only opened more fully the eye of suspicion, already too much awake. They could not be expected to allow themselves to be guided by projects which would hasten their own ruin. Unwilling, barefacedly, to state the true motives, which influenced their conduct, they assumed the cant of patriotism, and coloured their selfish fears by the plea of poverty, although they were rolling in wealth. Indeed, had the booty, found at Tripolitza, or in any other of the Turkish fortresses,

been deposited in the national coffers, a corps, not of two, but of twenty thousand soldiers, might easily have been organized and maintained for years. The unwillingness, however, of the chiefs was perhaps the least difficulty to surmount; since, if surmounted, the general and profound aversion of the population for every thing in the shape of discipline would have proved invincible. So much delight did every Greek experience, after so many years of galling slavery, in following, uncontrolled, the bent of his inclinations—in displaying, with childish vanity, the rich silver arms, the costly furs, and the showy embroidered dresses of his vanquished oppressors—in parading, like a pasha, on his caparisoned steed, and rioting in the midst of plunder and the beauties of Turkish harems;—that nothing could have prevailed upon him to renounce a life so full of pleasure and profit, to submit to the endless drudgery of that of a Frank soldier. The capitano, whom he now followed, was one of his own liking: bound to him by no tie, he was responsible for no kind of duty, and still less liable to punishment. Being his equal and his relative, he lived with him on the footing of the greatest familiarity; left or followed him whenever it suited his caprice or his interest; and even on the day of battle might desert the standard of his chief, without that chief having it in his power to censure him for his conduct.

Passing under silence the aversion, entertained by the Greeks for this and every other plan suggested by Franks (against whom they nourished a hatred little inferior to what they felt towards Mussulmen), it may be noticed, that the unfortunate affair of Petta contributed not a little to throw discredit on regular troops; though, had prejudice allowed them to exa-

mine the question with more judgment, the gallant bearing of the small corps of Philhellenes and the skeleton regiment, commanded by Dania and Tarella, which kept their ground for two hours against numbers infinitely superior to their own, and repeated charges of cavalry, could not but have excited the admiration of the Greeks, and produced on their minds the very contrary effect. But, with the multitude, even of the most civilized nations, success is the sole criterion of merit.

Cephalas was requested by the executive to assure his officers, that the Greek government felt grateful to them for their generous and disinterested offers of service; but was painfully compelled to let them know, that, labouring under considerable pecuniary difficulties, it could not, for the present, avail itself of their talents and the valuable present made by the committees to the nation. As soon, however, as the finances of the commonwealth should be in a more flourishing condition, their proposed plans would be carried into execution. A Turkish house was set apart for them, and orders given for the delivery of a daily ration of bread to each officer. Miserable as was this pittance, it was shortly after retrenched; and on complaints being made to the senate, it was hinted to them, that, under existing circumstances, no one who had not the means of maintaining himself should have ventured out to Greece. Had they been invited by the government, the case would be different, it was said, and their claims to rations and monthly pay well founded; on the contrary, they had come of their own accord, and should therefore seek support and assistance from those who had sent them; especially as there was no immediate need of their services.

On hearing this, all those, who were awake from their erroneous dreams, and had sufficient funds for the purpose, prepared to return home; persuaded that, otherwise, nothing but starvation and misery would await them. Several, however, found their pecuniary resources too scanty to permit them to undertake so long and expensive a journey; and it was in this emergency they resorted to the project, as stated above, of sending for aid to Germany. After the departure of Kolbe, they soon found, with all their economy, their purses empty; and their misery became at last so great, that they had nothing on which to depend for subsistence but the game and land-tortoises, which fortunately were found in great abundance in the neighbourhood of Anapli. Their numberless privations during several months, the despondency which had now succeeded to those enthusiastic feelings, which animated them when they first landed, and the extreme insalubrity of the town, predisposed them to contract the typhus, which raged within its walls from the moment the place was given up by the Turks: many died of the complaint, and hardly an individual escaped the contagion. Among those to whom it proved fatal was the Greek, Cephalas, whom it carried off after a few days' illness. This man had witnessed the sufferings of the Philhellenes, but, masking with hypocrisy the selfishness of his heart, he lamented his incapacity any farther to relieve them; pretending, by the large sums he had disbursed, to have reduced himself also to poverty. Yet, after his death, no less a sum than 10,000 francs were found in his possession; which had been given him secretly by the committees to be applied, in case of any unforeseen exigency, to the use of this very expedition.

Kolbe succeeded in obtaining at Darmstadt a sum

which, though not very considerable, was sufficient to enable his countrymen to return to their native homes; and he hastened to cross over to Missolonghi, whither he invited them all to repair. On their arrival we witnessed the melancholy picture, presented by these deluded young men: sickness, want, and fatigue, had worn them to the bone; and of the original number scarcely a fifth remained. Of these several joyfully quitted Greece; while others, hearing that Lord Byron had engaged to take them under his protection, continued at Mesolonghi, and were afterwards employed in the artillery brigade and his lordship's staff; and it was from their lips I gathered these details.

In a few days Mr. Hamilton Browne arrived at the Lazaret of Argostoli; bringing with him two commissioners, who were to be the agents for negotiating a loan in England in the name of the Greek government. A thousand difficulties and ever-recurring delays were to be surmounted before they could be appointed; and had the manner in which they were chosen been known in England, there can be little doubt, that the appointment would have been considered as illegitimate. The president and two principal members of the executive, two-thirds of the senate, and the capitani, in whose hands were the very lands and Turkish properties given in as security for repayment of the money, and whose consent was consequently essential, loudly protested against the loan. The nomination was entirely due to the influence of Mavrocordato, then president of the senate, among the Hydriots. He devolved the office on Orlando, himself a Hydriot, and Luriotti, a merchant, entirely devoted to his interests; leaving every thing else to Lord Byron's management. Before their departure for England, they had numerous conferences

with Lord Byron, received from him every necessary instruction, and letters of recommendation to all his friends; urging them to afford every assistance in their power to the deputies, in the attainment of an object, on which the welfare of Greece was supposed entirely to depend.

Meanwhile, nothing appeared more likely to preclude the possibility of negotiating a loan, than the news, which Mr. H. Browne had brought with him from Peloponnesus. The din of civil war had made itself heard in the mountains of Caritena; and by those best acquainted with the previous state of things, the sound was felt as the knell of Greek liberty. The feeble party, that sought to establish the constitution, destitute alike of money and of troops, seemed wholly at the mercy of the all-powerful capitani. And what hopes besides could be entertained for the triumph of a government, the principal members of which were its chief enemies? Early in November, after the most tumultuous altercations, the senate, which, driven out of every town of note by the capitani, held its sittings in the half-burnt village of Argos, fulminated a decree against Andrea Metaxa and Pervuca, expelling them from the executive body. It bitterly reproached them with the numerous abuses and iniquities, they had practised while holding that high situation; and especially with having imposed taxes on the people without warrant, and among others a heavy one on salt. Enraged at this affront, these individuals hastily repaired to the capitani, with whom they had long formed a conspiracy to subvert the constitution, and warmly represented to them, that the day had at last arrived for striking the decisive blow, and vindicating their authority. Pano, the eldest son of Colocotrone, who was then master of Anapli, and Tennaio, his brother, both faithful inter-

preters of their father's will, instantly listened to their proposals; and, followed by Nikitas, a man whose judgment was far short of his bravery, they marched on the 13th with a considerable corps to Argos. They unexpectedly entered the place where the senators were assembled; but the bold and inflexible manner in which the bishop of Mistra, Theodore Vresteni, asked what they meant by daring to present themselves with an armed force before the representatives of the nation, so disconcerted them, that they shrunk from the execution of the plan, they had formed, of apprehending the senators in general, and laying violent hands on those who had given them most umbrage. After a few threats and insults they departed; but proceeded to the place in which were the archives of the assembly, of which they took possession. These were, however, speedily recovered by Capitan Zaccharopoulo, an Argive, who conveyed them to the house of the bishop we have mentioned, who was then vice-president of the assembly. For a few hours the rebels besieged this house; but disunion arising among them, they at length withdrew; contenting themselves with plundering the habitations of the most obnoxious of the members. Perceiving the danger of remaining in a spot, where they were likely to become the daily sport of an insolent and lawless soldiery, headed by capitani yet more barbarous; the senate resolved to remove the next day to Cranidi, where the population was more in their favour, and where they would have, in case of emergency, greater facility for crossing over to Hydra.

These tidings proved highly annoying to Lord Byron, and for several days powerfully agitated his mind. On the one hand, he was apprehensive that, on the intelligence reaching England, every hope of

obtaining a loan would thereby be crushed; and, thus deprived of its only chance of salvation, the constitutional party would inevitably sink under the force of military despotism; while he feared, on the other, that, should the loan be effected before its arrival, the shadow remaining of government—for it was only a shadow—might have ceased to exist, and the reign of anarchy be confirmed; or, what was no less to be dreaded, that, on its being known to the chiefs of Peloponnesus, that pecuniary subsidies had been received, they would form the resolution, in order to thwart the plans of the constitutionalists, of bringing forward each a contingent in men and money, affording an aid far more considerable than could have been done by several loans, similar to the one about to be raised.

Should any of these events take place, Lord Byron felt how heavy would be his responsibility to the British public, for having lent the authority of his name to a power on the brink of destruction; the invalidity of whose guarantees, it would be said, he must himself have been fully aware of at the time; and it appeared in the sequel, that his apprehensions were neither gratuitous nor chimerical: for the insurrection of the capitani miscarried solely through an inconceivable avarice, which blinded them to their most vital interests; and, strange to say, led them to prefer losing the whole of their influence, to risking for a while a trifling portion of their wealth.

In consequence of the disagreeable intelligence, brought from the Morea, Lord Byron felt himself under the necessity of renouncing for the moment his intentions of proceeding to that country. He could no longer interfere as a mediator; for the views of the contending parties had become too diametrically opposite to admit of the slightest approximation; and

having come to Greece with a very different purpose from that of taking part in civil war, he wished to avoid acting openly with the constitutionalists, although he made no secret of his wishes for their triumph. Thus resolved, Mesolonghi, the only town in Greece not under the control of the capitani, fixed his regard; and he determined, on the arrival of the Greek division in its waters, to cross over to that town; and, awaiting the arrival of the loan, put into execution the various schemes, he had formed for the general welfare of the country, without giving umbrage to either party.

CHAPTER III.

The author goes to Mesolonghi—Caraiscachi, a Greek chief—Secret understanding between the Turks and the Albanians—Customs at funerals—Ithaca—Hostility of Sir T. Maitland and British agents to the Greeks—Honourable exception afforded by Colonel Napier—Turkish brig attacked by the Greeks—Great sums of money on board—The crew saved.

On the 8th of December I left Argostoli for Mesolonghi, accompanied by Caraiscachi, who, regardless of the state of his health, and the danger to which he exposed it by undertaking so long and so fatiguing a journey, at the very worst period, too, of the rainy season, could no longer control his impatience of revenge; having just heard of the numerous persecutions his rival Rangos had inflicted on his adherents in the province of Agrapha. He vented the bitterest rage against the Greek government, by which his adversary had been authorised to dispossess him of a province, he considered as his legitimate conquest; as he had driven out the Turks who occupied it, long before the above power existed, with no other aid than the valour of his own followers. The chief complaint, which the government had to allege against him, and in fact against every capitano of the provinces on the borders, was their treacherous conduct towards their own countrymen, and the friendly footing on which they stood with the enemy, the Albanians. These two races of Turks having, from their youth upwards, lived in the closest intimacy, had become familiar with each other's habits and language, and were enemies only in appearance. A tacit agreement existed between them not to oppose one another's depredations; and in several

instances they even protected their respective properties, and gave proofs of attachment, that made them forgetful of the duties, they owed both to their nation and their religion. As one instance of this, out of many others, might be mentioned the intimate friendship, which reigned between the Governor of Prevesa, Bekir Giocadore, and Zonga, capitani of the district of Xeromero. Whenever the Albanian wished to preserve his flocks from the rapacity of the troops encamped in the neighbourhood of Prevesa, he sent them to his friend, who never failed to receive and punctually to return them; and when the slightest apprehension of an invasion of Acarnania prevailed, Zonga placed, in the same manner, all his cattle in safety, by sending them to Vonitza, where they continued to graze undisturbed till the danger was over. Andrea Isco, Stornari, Liacata, Frankala, &c. had sold their patriotism to the enemy; so that whenever his armies prepared to invade continental Greece, or to retire after an invasion, the passes were constantly left open; and they were, for this reason, ironically denominated, by the soldiers, *Dervendjees*. By these acts of treachery they brought incalculable evils on their countrymen, who trusted to the fair promises they made, and which they never failed to violate.

So wonderful, sometimes, is the stimulus imparted by the passions to the body, that Caraiscachi, who, a moment before, could with difficulty crawl about his room, now mounted his horse, and was himself again. His dark scintillating eye, though deeply sunk in its socket, attested, by its fierce glances, that, reduced as he was outwardly, his mind remained the same. The folds of a yellow ceshmeere, twisted negligently, in the Albanian manner, round his head and the sides of the face, gave to his sallow and emaciated

physiognomy a grim—I might almost say, a fiend-like—expression.

During our excursion I witnessed, for the first time, a custom which I afterwards found prevalent throughout Greece. Two young women sat on a rock overlooking the road, rending the air with the most shrill and piercing screams, and each tearing her dishevelled hair, lacerating her face with her nails, and with clenched fists striking her breast. They were the very picture of despair, rendered more impressive, perhaps, by the wild and solitary scenery around. Moved as I was myself, I observed an indifference in my fellow-travellers for which I could not account. On asking the Cephaloniot, who accompanied our mules, what could occasion the cries of these unfortunate women, he coolly replied that they were bewailing the death of their mother, who had died a few days before. As long as the season of mourning lasts, custom, it seems, obliges the female relatives of the deceased to meet at intervals, which gradually become more and more distant, and thus publicly express their grief. Every district has its peculiar chant; some of which are exceedingly affecting and melancholy, while others resemble rather the yelping of jackalls than the cries of human beings. The Mainots content themselves, after approaching the corpse, with crying three times, with a loud plaintive voice, *Adelphe! adelphe! adelphe!* which, after a few minutes of silent contemplation, they sigh out again, and, after impressing the last kiss of friendship, depart. The Suliot women gather round the coffin, and rehearse by turns the principal actions of the life of the deceased.

On our arrival at St. Euphemia we were kindly entertained by Mr. T. Caraiscachi, who took a pleasure in relating to us how he had acquired the various rich

spoils, which he then happened to wear. His diamond ring was valued at upwards of 1500 Spanish dollars; his shawl and furred mantle had belonged to a Turkish aga, whom he had killed while returning to Larissa with the produce of the *caratch* and other taxes, that he had collected in the districts of Livadia, Agrapha, and Carpeniri. Far from concealing his birth, he boasted of being a bastard as of a title, giving superior claims. Possessing considerable wit and humour, he detailed, in the most ludicrous manner, the intrigues and adventures of his mother and supposed father. He had spent the earlier part of his youth at the court of Ali Pasha, where he became an adept in all the vices of that corrupt school; and had for several years served among the Armaloles, till, tired of that, he preferred depending on his own devices; and made himself chief of a band of Kleftes, that soon became the terror of Epirus and all the mountainous districts of continental Greece. He united to courage and boldness a penetration and cunning seldom surpassed; and possessed so perfectly the talent of profiting by circumstances, that while no Kleftis was more enterprising than himself, none also was more fortunate. He had not the most distant idea of the meaning of liberty; confounding it with anarchy. He ridiculed the idea of Greeks aiming at the establishment of a regular government; and invariably spoke of it in the most scurrilous terms.

After staying here a day, we crossed over to Ithaca, and landed at the foot of a mountain called Aito. The old woman, who accompanied Caraiscachi, and who had attended him during his illness, lighted a fire, and after spreading a napkin on the pebbles, in a few minutes prepared us some food. Her withered cheeks and forbidding looks reminded me forcibly of the old hag, that Gil Blas met with in the robbers'

cavern; and her employment for many years had, in fact, been in no small degree similar.

Hardly had we terminated our meal, when the female porters, that had been sent from Valhi to convey our luggage, appeared. Proceeding on our journey, after climbing a steep woody ascent, we saw, to the left, a hill, on which are the ruins of the palace and city of Ulysses. This part of what were once the dominions of this crafty chieftain is little favoured by nature: it consists almost entirely of barren mountains, affording scarcely sufficient sustenance to a few goats. The modern capital, named, probably from its position, Valhi, is soon after seen, situate close to the beach at the end of the bay, which forms one of the best harbours in the Ionian islands. The land is cultivated with much industry, and produces currants, from which a wine is made that, in appearance and flavour, may vie with port, and is considered by the faculty, on the neighbouring continent, as excellent for convalescents. Captain Knox, the English resident, was carrying into execution the instructions, he had received, to macadamize the roads of this island; but bitter complaints on this account were made here, as in the other islands, by its narrow-minded inhabitants, who, accustomed from infancy to bad roads, preferred submitting to the greatest inconvenience, rather than pay contributions, or work for an object, of which they did not perceive the immediate necessity. Constraint alone can rouse the Ionians from the apathy and laziness, which their former rulers, the Venetians, along with their other vices, have entailed upon them.

There existed, however, it must be owned, causes of complaint, better founded than this to justify the discontent of the Ionians against the English. I refer to the hostile spirit, manifested by Sir T. Mait-

land, from the breaking out of the Greek revolution, against their brethren on the continent. The inhuman manner in which they had frequently seen them treated, and the rancour and animosity, with which he constantly spoke and acted against them, did not fail to render him still more odious in their eyes. The different residents (Colonel Napier only excepted), the more to ensure the favour of the lord high commissioner, servilely aped the harshness of his behaviour, or rather, "out-heroding Herod," vied with each other which, by petty vexations, should prostitute most every honourable feeling, and give the best proof of his hatred to the Greeks. The wiser part of the Ionian population was aware of the propriety and necessity of observing in this conflict a strict neutrality, and could not but approve of many of the measures taken to restrain within proper limits the enthusiasm of their countrymen, and prevent their joining the Greeks; but when they heard the sons of liberty offering up vows for the triumph of Turkish despotism, they were unable any longer to contain their indignation.

Two days after my arrival in Ithaca, an event took place, that worked so powerfully on the islanders as to put an end to all dissimulation, and the interest they felt for the success of their compatriots at once burst forth. Before daybreak a brisk cannonade was heard in the direction of the Scrofes; and as soon as a report came that the Greek fleet had engaged some Turkish vessels, the whole population rushed up the mountain, close to the town, commanding a view of the whole coast of Acarnania, Ætolia, and the cluster of islands, down to the entrance of the Gulf of Patras. The engagement was between a Turkish brig of twenty-two guns and ten Greek vessels, which had arrived during the night off the

Scrofes, where they fell in with it. The brig was pursuing its course to Patras: it had sailed two days previously from Prevesa, and had on board the *hasnè* destined to pay the arrears, due upwards of two years to the garrisons of the four fortresses at the entrance of the Gulf of Corinth. The sum amounted to a hundred thousand dollars. The Turks had no hopes of escaping from so superior a force; yet though proposals of surrender were repeatedly made to them, led partly by courage and fanaticism, and partly by the little reliance, they placed on Greek faith, they continued gallantly to defend themselves, and manœuvred to work their way into the channel between Cephalonia and Ithaca; and, after a fight of nine hours, they succeeded in running the ship on the south-easterly point of the latter island, where, hoping to find an asylum on neutral ground, they effected a landing, to the amount of only fifty in number, being all that remained out of two hundred and sixty, of which the crew had originally consisted. The captain, though slightly wounded, would not quit his vessel; and fell bravely, sword in hand, when the Greeks boarded it. The Turks, who had taken refuge on the island, entrenched themselves behind the rocks, and fired on the Spezziots, who landed to pursue them. Several were killed on both sides; but the Spezziots, thinking they might employ their time more advantageously in helping their comrades to plunder the ship, at length retreated. There was not, in fact, a moment to be lost; for hardly was the money disembarked, when the ship foundered. Captain Knox, who during the whole day had vented the bitterest imprecations against the Greeks, ordered a detachment to march to the spot where the Turks had landed, and escort them to the lazaret, where they arrived at night. Out of the fifty, thirty-five were

found wounded, and the wounds of most of them were of the most terrible description. Among the dead were several persons of distinction, of whom the most conspicuous was the Divan Effendi, or privy councillor of Youssouf Pasha.

Early the next morning Captain Knox sent to request me to call upon him. After stating the melancholy situation of these poor wretches, he told me that, for several reasons, he could not send any of the native practitioners to attend them; and as Mr. Scott, the surgeon of the garrison, was absent, he had no resource but in me for the performance of this duty of humanity. I complied with his request without a moment's hesitation; and having furnished myself with what would be necessary on the occasion, repaired immediately to the lazaret. Never can I forget the impression, my appearance produced on these men! The sullen gloom of despair, pictured on their countenances, gave way to the smile of hope; and subsequently, by signs more eloquent than words, they testified the gratitude they felt for the attentions, I bestowed upon them. No pleasure can surpass what is experienced by a medical professor under such circumstances.

In the afternoon a Turk of note, an emir, formerly Cadi of Tripolitza, who the day before had been left on the beach for dead, was brought into the lazaret; and the ghastly features of death seemed indeed to be portrayed in his countenance. Being seated among his countrymen, he feebly articulated the word *tsiboug*, a pipe; and it was no sooner brought him, than he seized it with both hands, and swallowed its smoke with the same greediness that a man, famished by thirst, would drink water. By degrees he gathered new life: the most generous cordial could not have produced a more reviving

effect. A second and a third pipe having been brought to him and smoked, he began to feel the calls of hunger and thirst, and asked for medical assistance. After securing the yet oozing arteries, I dressed his wounds; and I had some time afterwards the satisfaction of hearing, in Asia Minor, that Hussein Aga, perfectly recovered, was filling at Aleppo the same dignity he enjoyed at Tripolitza. The pipe is to a Turk a panacea both for mental and bodily sufferings; and during the several operations, I had to perform on this and other occasions on Mussulmen, the patients invariably had recourse to it as an anodyne, affording the best alleviation under whatever pain. I devoted two days to these unfortunate beings; and on the morning of the third, after I had dressed their wounds for the last time, they were embarked for Prevesa.

CHAPTER IV.

Caraiscachi—Calamo—Bozzari and Suliots—Arrival at Mesolonghi—Description of the town and its environs—Various expeditions of the Turks against it without success—Heroic exploit of Marco Bozzari—Siege of Anatolico.

CARAISCACHI, whose good opinion I had forfeited by giving assistance to Turks, informed me, that for the present he should prosecute his journey no farther, but remain at Ithaca for a few weeks, his wife and daughter having just arrived. From the caloyero, who had accompanied them and brought him a portion of his treasures, he learned that Rangos had withdrawn his troops from Agrapha. Impatient of reaching Mesolonghi, I instantly embarked for Calamo, where I was given to understand I should find a ready conveyance, as the numerous Mesolonghiot families, that during Scondra Pasha's invasion had repaired thither, were now returning to their native town. Favoured by a strong wind, miserable as was the boat in which I had embarked, we reached the island in less than two hours.

Calamo is a small barren island about ten or twelve miles in circumference. Owing to its vicinity to continental Greece, from which it is distant only four or five miles, and being without the Turkish dominions, it afforded, at all times, a temporary asylum to the persecuted Greek, and sheltered him alike from the fury of his tyrants, and the avenging arm of justice. This, and a smaller island contiguous to it, were usually inhabited by a few shepherds, employed in tending the flocks, sent thither by the Cephaloniot noblemen, to whom both belonged. During the in-

vasion of Omer Pasha, in 1822, so considerable a number of families took refuge on it, that they drew the attention of the Ionian government, which, without exposing itself to shame, could not refuse protection to the many defenceless women and children who implored its pity. Accordingly Captain Crummer was sent, in 1823, from Corfu with a small detachment, and immediately on his arrival the British flag was unfurled amidst the acclamations of this timid multitude.

It would have been difficult to have selected a person better qualified, by his benevolent and active mind, to prove useful on this spot of land, which, though narrow in itself, might on this occasion be deemed an extensive field of philanthropy. The number of refugees amounted to eight or ten thousand helpless individuals, who, obliged to live under huts similar to kennels, had been deprived of most of the necessaries of life. Like a father to the colony, the captain constructed roads, mills, ovens, houses, hospitals, and, to the best of his power, administered to their respective wants. Every family, as they returned from the island, implored a thousand blessings on his head; and in reward of his virtuous conduct, let us hope that the prayers of these orphan and destitute suppliants were not disregarded! What contributed still farther to gain him the esteem and gratitude of the Greeks was the zeal he displayed in bringing to punishment an assassin of the name of Mangiavino, and the manner in which he repaired the wrongs of those, who had suffered from the iniquitous rapacity of this man. For several months this individual had been employed at the health-office to examine and keep a watch over those who arrived from the continent; and to prevent the landing of such as were capable of spreading, or who might labour under any pesti-

lential disorder. Availing himself of his situation, he exacted in the name of the commandant presents or money from every comer; which those who had the means paid; but crying bitterly at the same time against the inhospitality of the English, while those who had not, were inhumanly repulsed and prohibited to land. As every one thought that he was an agent of Captain Crummer, no complaint was made against him; but the captain having at length a suspicion of his proceedings, a search was ordered to be made in his house, when a number of rings, diamonds, and other valuable trinkets were found in it, besides a much larger sum of money than he could be supposed lawfully to possess. On the public crier inviting every one who, before landing, had given anything to Mangiavino to wait on the commandant to specify it, the whole infamy of his conduct was brought to light, and he was condemned by the tribunals to five years of hard labour.

I here renewed acquaintance with Nothi Bozzari, who, impatient to revenge the death of his beloved nephew, Marco, was waiting for an occasion to cross over to Mesolonghi with a chosen body of Suliots, whom he had collected in different parts of the Ionian islands. Though upwards of sixty years of age, he retained all the vigour and agility of youth. His frame of body was taller and stouter than that of Suliots in general, who, like all mountaineers, are short, and of a spare habit. His gait was noble and graceful, and his appearance extremely imposing. His physiognomy was a true picture of his character; the principal features of which were dissimulation, cunning, penetration, and pride. He expressed himself with the fluency and dignity natural to every Greek; few chiefs surpassed him in the gift of persuasion; and in negotiations, assemblies, or conventions, he displayed

all the talents of Albanian diplomacy. Yet he ranked low in the esteem of his countrymen, who, soldiers from the instant they could lift a musket, cared little about oratory, and thought all ideas superfluous, that had not war for their theme. In one quality in particular, which they prize most, that of personal courage, he had always been deficient; and accordingly he was deemed by them fitter to act as one of the primates than as a general. On waiting upon him, I found him surrounded by his family. His wife and two daughters answered exactly to the Samnite women, described by Horace: born to serve their lords, they performed the most menial offices, and waited at table, as well on the capitano as on his men. Nothing can exceed the simplicity of a Greek table in general. The primitive race could scarcely have lived more frugally. A few olives and some boiled herbs supplied the wants of the guests. My admiration of the abstemiousness of Nothi might have continued, had I not an hour after met the old man at Captain Crummer's table, where, according to the rules of the Albanian Galateo—I presume in order to prove to his host how sensible he was of the honour of his invitation—he devoured with voracity the various portions to which he was helped. From that day I began to question, whether the abstemiousness of the Greeks depended on a frugal taste or an economical turn of mind; and I afterwards constantly remarked, that whenever he met with a dainty morsel at another's table, he was sure to have "a corner kept for it." Be this as it may, it is certainly of immense advantage to possess a stomach so accommodating as to be able to bear, unhurt, the extremes both of temperance and gluttony. No English soldier, it is certain, could endure on this account the Greek guerilla warfare.

We embarked on the 17th for Mesolonghi, and anchored towards evening close to Vasiladi, a small mud island, but of vital importance to the town; as it is the key of the flats, which, on the sea side, afford an impenetrable defence. These flats extend from the mouths of the Achelous to that of the Evenus (now Phidari), and have been formed by the deposits of those two rivers. The former river especially, named by the moderns from the mud, which gives a white appearance to its waters, Aspropotamo, is continually filling up some of its outlets into the sea, and has thus gradually changed its original course. One of its old channels is plainly traced from Anatolico Bay to near Catochi; and the cluster of small islands, on which stands the town of Anatolico, owes no doubt its origin to the Achelous, from which it is now more than eight miles distant. When the inundations are considerable, the river flows again along its former bed. The channels among these flats are as intricate as a labyrinth, and are known only to the fishermen. They are so shallow that they can be navigated by none but flat-bottomed boats; which, from being simply excavated trunks of trees, without either rudder or keel, are named, the smaller kind μονόξυλα, and the larger πλοιάρια. Our effects, when landed at Vasiladi, were placed in one of these boats, the mode of directing and impelling which is by a three-pronged pole. This island is not more than five hundred feet in circumference. Considering that but a few days ago it was threatened by a powerful enemy, I felt not a little surprised to see how wretchedly so essential a point was fortified; two six pounders and one of eighteen, placed behind a wall not thicker than that of a garden, being the only means of resistance it could oppose to an attack. As no platforms existed, and the soil was extremely

soft, these field-pieces, in case of an action, would soon have sunk so deep in the mud as to preclude the possibility of using them. The only guards were a few fishermen, whose looks exhibited little of a martial appearance, and their occupation still less, for they were busily employed in curing the fish and roe of the kephalo and laviachi (αυγοταραχο), for which Mesolonghi had always been celebrated.

Mesolonghi, before the revolution, consisted of about eight hundred scattered houses, built close to the sea-side, on a marshy and most unhealthy site scarcely above the level of the waters, which, a few centuries ago, must have covered the spot, as may be judged from the nature of the soil, consisting of decomposed sea-weeds and dried mud. Disagreeable, however, as this spot is, it was chosen, no doubt, for the convenience of its inhabitants, who lived entirely on the produce of the extensive fisheries and salt-works in the immediate neighbourhood; while to the nature of its position is to be ascribed the celebrity, it has obtained during the present warfare, as holding the first rank in the annals of regenerated Greece. With the exception of eight or ten individuals, who had acquired a fortune elsewhere, the population of Mesolonghi, which amounted to about three thousand souls, was exceedingly poor. The numberless vexations of Ali Pasha's vaivode absorbed so great a portion of the fruit of their industry, that though the country around was highly productive, and they could realize money by exporting to the Ionian islands, to Patras, and other places, fish-roe, the favourite quadragesimal food of every orthodox Greek,—and the consumption of this article was so great as to keep in constant activity between twenty and thirty small vessels,—they in a manner starved in the midst of plenty. Men who, after much labour, can barely

provide for their subsistence, can little think of embellishing their houses; and the town had in general a most uninviting appearance. The streets too were narrow and ill paved. But what most revolted a stranger, was the abominable practice of having their buildings so constructed, that the most loathsome substances were emptied into the streets: the optic and olfactory nerves however of the inhabitants were so accustomed to this, that they ridiculed, in no very chosen terms, the disgust we could not help expressing. With the exception of Athens, the same spectacle is seen more or less in every town of Greece.

Mesolonghi, at the time I landed, was enjoying its halcyon days. An immense concourse of strangers filled its bazaars and streets; scenes of merriment were day and night repeated in its numerous cafés; and in every direction marriages and feasts were celebrated. The martial pyrrhic dance, accompanied by songs celebrating late exploits, animated the soldier to fresh deeds of glory. The lowest Greek, whether he thought on former bondage and the thousand dangers that led him to independence, or from the present promising appearances anticipated future prosperity, felt himself electrified to the highest degree, and could not forbear giving full vent to his rapture. The Hydriote and Spezziote, intoxicated by their late success, paraded, as in triumph, the arms and spoils of their enemy; and, preceded by the lively mandolins and noisy timbrel, sung alternately, in their Albanian dialect, their naval exploits or their loves. The more sober part of the population and the friends of Greece exulted also while passing in review the events of the year about to terminate. Never did the cause of independence present a fairer chance of success. How disgracefully, in fact, had the mighty undertakings of the Porte miscarried! The whole

efforts of this king of kings were concentrated against Mesolonghi; yet though half the forces were amply sufficient to reduce it, the want of proper direction and harmony in the execution of the plans, united to the jealousy and presumptuous stupidity of the leaders, caused them, as in the preceding campaigns, to be wasted in vain. Had this place been merely blockaded, it is certain, it could not have held out more than three months; being totally unprovided with the means of maintaining the large population, that had flowed in from the surrounding country. Had it been regularly attacked, the quantity of ammunition which it contained (an inventory of which was made by order of Lord Byron shortly after his arrival) was barely sufficient to defend the place for ten days, though the batteries did not mount more than forty cannons and a mortar. Of the former of these, the carriages were out of order, and more than one half, having no platforms, were buried up to the axle-tree in the mud.

A most exaggerated opinion, in respect to the strength of the fortifications of Mesolonghi, has been entertained in Europe; few persons being aware, that the gross ignorance and bungling operations of the besiegers, contributed more to the long resistance it offered, than the obstacles opposed by the skill of the engineers who constructed them. They were begun after Omer Pasha's retreat. Cocchini, a Greek, who having been in the service of Austria, had picked up a little information, proposed a plan, which, bad enough in itself, was rendered still worse by the numerous alterations insisted upon by the primates. Nothing could satisfy them but the erection of a wall. Fortunately, however, their pecuniary means did not allow them to complete it, or Mesolonghi would have fallen much sooner into the hands

of the enemy. As the wall was only four feet in thickness, nothing would have been more practicable than to make breaches in it; and being weak and tottering, in consequence of its marshy foundation, its mass of ruins, if it fell (and its elevation was no less than thirty feet), would, as the event afterwards proved, by filling the ditch, have rendered storming no difficult operation. So imperfectly, at first, was the approach to the town protected by the fire of the batteries, that there was a considerable space to the west of the gate where the enemy might have erected batteries without the possibility of being molested. This gross defect being pointed out to Cocchini, he was obliged to acknowledge his error; and in 1824 he constructed, in front of the fortifications, a triangular lunette, from which that point could be commanded.

Topal Pasha, whom the sultan recalled from the province he governed, considering him the person best calculated, from his acquaintance with naval tactics, to be invested again with the dignity of Capitan Pasha, had appeared before Mesolonghi with a fleet of thirty sail, on the 18th of June; but so remiss was he in maintaining a proper blockade, that the boats of the inhabitants hourly passed and repassed in the midst of his ships, bringing provisions, and whatever else they pleased, without being in the slightest degree molested. Though not attacked by the Greek fleet, he did not even venture to reconnoitre Vasiladi. What could have prevented him from taking possession of this island, as well as of Procopanisto and Agia Triada, two other small islands in the flats, through which provisions could, in case of need, be introduced into Mesolonghi, is known only to himself; these islands being then perfectly defenceless. On the 28th of August despairing, it

would seem, of seeing the Pasha of Scutari (called by the Greeks Scondra Pasha), who, according to his instructions, ought to have appeared with his army before Mesolonghi early in June; giving also ready credit to the rumour of his overthrow in the mountains of Carpenisi; and, lastly, deeming the season too far advanced to enter on his arduous undertaking, the Capitan Pasha raised anchor, and leaving six of his worst vessels at Patras, sailed with the rest towards the Archipelago, with the intention, it was supposed, of surprising some of its islands. He however landed only on the island of Skiatho; and on the appearance of the Greek fleet, much inferior to his own even in number, precipitately re-embarked his troops, and hastened to re-enter the Dardanelles.

Scondra Pasha's expedition had proved equally inglorious and abortive. His march across Albania had been retarded by the perpetual recurrence of difficulties; purposely raised by Omer Pasha and the different Arnaout chiefs, who, after their repulse before Mesolonghi, having incurred the sultan's displeasure, feared lest the success of this new enterprise might become the signal of their own destruction. Arriving at last among the mountains of Carpenisi, he was preparing (August 31st) to descend into the plains of Acarnania and Ætolia, when he was attacked during the night by the brave Marco Bozzari; who, with a handful of Suliots, penetrated into the very heart of his camp, spreading so much confusion and dismay among his troops, that, dispersed in every direction, they might easily have been annihilated, had the other Greek capitani been more worthy to co-operate with this hero. It was not till the commencement of September, that the Turkish troops appeared in the plain of Mesolonghi; and they immediately established communications between the

camp and Lepanto; whence they received five cannons and two mortars to carry on the siege. The pasha felt himself, on his arrival, much disappointed. The fleet, without which Mesolonghi could not be blockaded, had returned to Constantinople; and the few men-of-war left at Patras appeared to him insufficient for a task so fraught with difficulties. After deliberating for a while, he considered the siege of Anatolico as the only enterprise practicable in his position. Accordingly, having established batteries on the western side of the town, he begun, on the 20th of October, to cannonade and bombard it; with more activity however than precision.

This town was not in the least prepared for resistance, and could only by its natural position keep the enemy at bay. Its houses, in fact, like those of Venice, rising out of the sea, are built on small flat islands, situated in the middle of the narrowest part of the bay, to which it gives its name. The channels, by which it is separated from the main land, do not exceed 300 yards in width, and the average depth is only between five and six feet. Its access from the open sea is still more difficult than that of Mesolonghi, from the innumerable sand-banks, that intersect its bay in every direction; which would present to an enemy difficulties not easily to be surmounted. Art would have but little to do to render it perfectly impregnable; but so predominant are supineness and procrastination in the Greek character, that unless the danger be imminent, and the storm has actually begun to burst over his head, no consideration can induce him to prepare against the hour of need. The primates and richer part of the population, according to their laudable custom, precipitately fled, and the few, whom poverty or bravery prevented from imitating their example, had no means of replying to

the enemy's fire, till they received four six-pounders from Mesolonghi, and a portion of that band of heroes, who, in the preceding year, undertook the defence of the latter place; though a miserable ditch, across which I have frequently leaped, was then its only fortification, bereft too of ammunition and provisions, abandoned by its inhabitants, and attacked by a force fifty times more numerous than their own. Under the standard of Kitzo Costa, himself a Suliot, this band now came to expose their lives for the preservation of this important place; with the fate of which that of the sister town was intimately connected.

It is with peculiar satisfaction I here record, that two British tars accompanied this reinforcement. They had deserted from a man-of-war to fight against the Turks; and they offered, on the present occasion, to serve one of the pieces; and they did much injury to the enemy; having, among others, killed the Topgi-bashi, or chief cannonier of the pasha*.

From the moment the Suliots arrived, the defence of Anatolico assumed another character, and so much courage and activity were displayed by the garrison, that the Turks abandoned the idea of attempting a landing by means of rafts, which they had constructed for the purpose.

Scondra Pasha perceiving that, after a month spent

* Truth obliges me to add, that the services of William Martin, one of these intrepid sailors, were very ill requited by the Greeks. His comrade had fallen a victim to the typhus fever, which was then prevalent, and his own life was in danger from the same disease: he recovered, however, and was immediately imprisoned and ill treated for having knocked down a Greek of note, who, in denying him his usual ration of bread, accompanied the refusal with the most opprobrious epithets against the English; and he might have died of absolute want in a country, he had so bravely and disinterestedly defended, had he not met at Mesolonghi with some of his countrymen, who relieved him in his misery.

before Anatolico, the whole of his efforts had succeeded only in destroying a few miserable houses, began seriously to reflect on his position, and to apprehend the dangers, that were now daily gathering round his army. The wintry rains, which in these regions last uninterruptedly for three months, had already begun. In a few days the Achelous, the Evenus, and indeed every river and pass would become impracticable; laying aside the possibility of wintering in the marshy neighbourhood of the besieged town, where the troops could receive no provisions either for themselves or horses. Remote from his own pashalick, he could not rely on the assistance of Omer Pasha, his secret enemy; nor would the Greek bands leave the passage free for his convoys.

Discontent already prevailed among the Albanians; their complaints became hourly louder and louder; and their chiefs felt compelled to represent to him, that a timely retreat only could save the army from ruin; and that if he delayed any longer, he would expose the troops to suffer the same losses as Omer Pasha had the year before. On the 30th of November, the whole army, therefore, was in march; and as soon as intelligence of this event reached Omer Pasha, he was unable to refrain the joy it occasioned him, but appeared frantic with delight.

CHAPTER V.

Effects of the victories obtained—The nation divided into two parties—Colocotrone's letter—The author introduced to Dr. Lucca Vaya—Manner of living among the Greeks—Account of Ali Pasha, &c.—Voutier's Memoirs.

GREAT as might be the satisfaction of every friend of Greece on contemplating a succession of events so fortunate for her rising liberties, we could not forbear being alarmed, on observing the evil effects, such a sudden and unexpected prosperity produced on the public mind. Instead of humbly adoring the hand, which, by blinding her enemy, had extricated the nation out of so many perils, the presumptuous Greek attributed all these wonders to his own valour and foresight. Intoxicated with vanity, he looked on himself as invincible. Instead of profiting by past errors, or being induced, by the recollection of the perils, to which his supineness exposed him, to prepare against future attacks; his thoughts were absorbed by the enjoyments and pleasures of the day, and in the pursuit of his own private interests. So strongly were even the chiefs under the influence of this delirium, that no consideration could bring them to a proper sense of their position. It was a fruitless task to enumerate the prodigious resources of their enemy; to allude to the obstinacy of his character, to show them that the day of danger was not over; that the only basis of a nation's strength was a well-regulated administration, supported by the union of the citizens; and that improvident security in the midst of perils was like the sudden calm, which, in

some violent distempers, is the surest harbinger of death. To these and, in fact, to every other remonstrance they turned a deaf ear, and only replied to the Europeans, that the sole obstacle to the prosperity of Greece was want of money. With a Greek, advice is always listened to in proportion as it is supported by dollars.

But in truth the interior state of the nation was, at this moment, highly alarming. Government was merely nominal; and a corrupted anarchy existed. The legislative body, at variance with the executive, was without authority, or residence. After wandering, like a band of strolling players, to Salamis, Corinth, Epidaurus, Valtetzi, Astros, and Argos, the senators had just been compelled to fly to Cranidi, at the approach of the soldiers of the Moriot Capitani; who in actual possession of every fortress, every town, and every branch of revenue, had sworn the abolition of the provisional constitution.

The whole nation was divided into two parties; both actuated by the same selfish principles; viz. the division of the enemy's property and the appropriation of the revenues, arising from their produce. The chiefs and inhabitants of Peloponnesus, who had laid the first hand on the Turkish properties, claimed them as their own; and, deaf to every remonstrance, they refused to share them with any one; while those, whose lots had been less fortunate, maintained, that, since every Greek had contributed equally to the destruction of their oppressors, the rights of each to a share of the spoils were equal; in one word, that all conquered property belonged to the nation, and should be consecrated to the maintenance of the army, navy, and indispensable wants of government.

Not only the capitani of Peloponnesus, but Odys-

seus, also, who lorded over the whole of Eastern Greece, had declared themselves leaders of the more powerful factions. Regardless of perjury, they aimed at the overthrow of the constitution, and proposed establishing among themselves a confederacy, the basis of which was not only mutual assistance against the enemy, but against every one, who should pretend to the command of a country, which, they said, belonged to them, by right of conquest, birth, and election. Fearing that the capitani of Western Greece might offer their assistance, they warned them against interfering in the affairs of Peloponnesus, which did not concern them; and they promised, in return, not to interfere in theirs. Their sentiments, however, may be best learned from the following letter from the most powerful chief in the Morea, Colocotrone:

"Brave Roumeliot Capitani,

"In order to assert the rights and defend the interests of our country, Peloponnesus, we have taken up arms against the tyranny of a few individuals. Being patriots, we are unwilling to create a civil war. If you are Greeks and patriots, you must not interfere with the affairs of Peloponnesus; but remain neutral. If you have any claims, you will, in due time, receive every satisfaction. Should you, however, meddle with the affairs of Peloponnesus, look to the consequences; we shall be no longer responsible.

"THEODORE COLOCOTRONE."

The Moriots were the most anxious to establish a separation between their country and the rest of Greece; because, in their narrow view of things, they esteemed the assistance of the fleet and of the Rou-

meliots superfluous for the defence of the peninsula. They desired, therefore, not to be troubled by claims for pecuniary assistance from any other quarter. They asserted, that the spoils of the Turks of Continental Greece were amply sufficient to carry on the war in that country; that the revenues of the islands of the Archipelago were sufficient to defray the expenses of the fleet; and with some justice they contended, that it was very unfair, that those, who were so loud in requiring sacrifices from others, should be allowed to hoard up the immense treasures, of which several had possessed themselves after the insurrection.

The other party, which consisted of the majority of the inhabitants of Western Greece, owed their chief support to the islanders. Having no reason to be dissatisfied with the Turkish government, whose authority over them consisted merely in receiving annually the capitation-tax, they lived completely independent, governed by their own magistrates, and engaged in a lucrative commerce; yet they nobly sacrificed their interests to join their countrymen, and assist them in throwing off the yoke. After having been the principal instruments in the liberation of Peloponnesus, in the annihilation of the enemy's attempts, in the reduction of Anapli, Navarino, Monemvasia, &c. they had assuredly some well-founded claims to share the revenues, necessary to defray the expenses of the fleet. Willing, as they had ever shown themselves, to expose their ships and lives in the defence of their country, the barren rocks, they inhabited, afforded no means of subsistence to the sailor. He could, in fact, no more exist without the pecuniary assistance of his peninsular brethren, than the latter could remain quiet possessors of their country without the presence of a vigilant navy.

In this state of discord, nothing but a fatal result could be, in any way, anticipated. For though the ignorance and indolence of the Turks proved, as on former occasions, the safeguard of Greece; yet the jealousies and rapacity of the chiefs gave rise to such a general disorganization, that, exhausted of all competent means of defence, the country fell an easy prey to the Egyptians.

Immediately after my arrival, Nothi Bozzari presented me to his nephew, Costa, brother of the famous Marco; but so far inferior to him in every respect, that one could hardly believe them to be the issue of the same parents. He received me with kindness, yet with the haughty manner characteristic of an Albanian; and engaged to provide me with lodgings, and whatever else I might require. Having sent for his friend Dr. Lucca Vaya, he introduced me to him as a Philhellene and colleague; persuaded that these titles would induce him to allow me, for a few days, to share his quarters.

During the week, I spent with the doctor, he treated me with the most cordial hospitality; yet, notwithstanding all this, I could with difficulty reconcile myself to an observable want of cleanliness and comfort. In Mesolongiot houses beds, tables, and chairs, are in vain looked for. The divan is a substitute for them all. This consists of mattrasses and pillows, stuffed with wool, arranged on a raised portion of the floor all round the room. During the day, it is used as a sofa, on which the people of the house and casual visitors sit, cross-legged, occupied, like mussulmen, in smoking, drinking coffee, or, for want of thought, playing like children for hours with the beads of a chaplet (κομβολόγι). At the time of meals, it serves as the triclinium to the ancients; the different dishes are introduced on a

copper-tray, which is laid on the divan; forks are looked upon as superfluities. At night the divan is metamorphosed into a line of beds for the whole family, and as every one sleeps with the same clothes as are worn in the day, and sheets are scarce, the *capottes* of the men supply the place of blankets.

Not in our house only, but in those of the most opulent primates, the windows are without glass. But let it not be supposed, that the fineness of the Grecian climate, on which such praises have been lavished by travellers, renders these means of protection against the inclemency of the atmosphere useless; for in no country can it be more disagreeable. The rains being almost incessant during three months; no alternative remains but either to brave the damp and the wind, or to shut oneself up in the dark. Chimneys, it is true, exist in most rooms; but they only tend to render the want of windows more sensible; for whilst one part of the body gets warm, the other is chilled with cold. The Greeks remedy this inconvenience by putting on their κὰππα on returning home; which, being made of a stiff goat's hair cloth, forms an excellent *paravent.*

During his stay at Vienna, where he was educated at Ali Pasha's expense, Dr. Lucca had learnt to speak German fluently. He civilized himself in a great measure, but could not help now and then betraying his national habits. I found much interest in his conversation; especially when Ali Pasha became the topic. No one could give more accurate information relative to this celebrated man, whose physician he had been during many years. Athanasi Vaya, a minister worthy of a similar tyrant, was his brother. They, and Vasilikee his favourite concubine, were the only individuals, whom the suspicious Ali trusted. Never would he take a medicine, unless Lucca pre-

pared it; nor did he ever form a design without consulting the former. So well were the Turks aware of Athanasi possessing the confidence of the satrap, that, of the numerous retinue composing his court, no one but Vaya and Vasilikee were sent to Constantinople; persuaded that to them only he could have revealed where he had hidden his treasures.

Omer Pasha, being in quest of a physician, retained Lucca in his service, after the death of Ali. He accompanied him in his campaign of 1822: but not finding himself well treated, the doctor profited by the confusion, which attended the precipitate retreat of the Albanians, after the failure of the assault they attempted on the 5th of January, 1823, to escape to the mountains of Zugo, from which he descended, the next day, and presented himself at Mesolonghi. There he met several of his friends; as almost every capitano or primate of distinction in this part of Greece had been brought up at Jannina, or been employed in Ali's service. Disciples of that school of despotism and corruption, no wonder if, during the present war, they gave so few proofs of patriotic virtue, or displayed so much ignorance of the meaning of civil liberty. From the doctor's reports however I readily got an insight into the past and actual character of these individuals; which was the more correct, as he united to deep acquaintance with his subject, a mind, unbiassed by party feeling or personal animosity. He panted, too, only for the establishment of good order. He soon convinced me of the gross exaggerations, which had appeared in Pouqueville's work; and did not fail to show the inaccuracies, by which it is deformed, both in respect to the latter days of Ali Pasha, as well as to the first events of the Greek revolution.

At this time, I perused the Philhellene Colonel

Voutier's Memoirs. The best judgment on this work is contained in the following anecdote, related to me by Mavrocordato. On Voutier's return to Greece, Mavrocordato requested him to favour him with a copy of his Memoirs. Anxious to see in what manner his conduct, during the siege of Mesolonghi, had been represented, he hastened to consult the chapter, which relates that event, when, to his great surprise, he perceived that the whole of it had been torn out. The next day, on meeting the author, he asked him why he had given him so imperfect a copy. After stammering for a while, he replied: "As there are, in the chapter you allude to, some slight exaggerations, which I thought necessary to insert, in order to place the cause of Greece under a more favourable light, I took the liberty of retrenching those leaves; fearing you might blame me for having allowed my Philhellenism to get so much the better of my veracity." "If," answered Mavrocordato, "your conscience has, since your return, become so sensitive; I am surprised that you have not begun to revise your work altogether. For that chapter, I am sure, could not contain more lies than the rest."

CHAPTER VI.

Author introduced to Mavrocordato—Description and character of that chief—Manner in which the Greek chiefs conducted themselves—Cost of Greek arms and ornaments.

THE day after my arrival, I presented myself to the Governor-General of Western Greece, Mavrocordato; anxious to see a man who had such a reputation in Europe. He had arrived a few days before on board the Greek vessels, that were engaged in the late action off Ithaca; being there as passenger with his suite; not, as Sir Thomas Maitland supposed in his proclamation, in the character of Commander. On the appearance of the Turkish fleet in June, the inhabitants of Mesolonghi, mindful of his services, and how he had, in 1822, contributed to the preservation of their town, began to feel the necessity of his presence; and at the same time, that they petitioned the senate to send the fleet to their assistance, they requested, that Mavrocordato might be appointed their eparch, instead of Constantino Metaxà; a Cephaloniot nobleman, whose arrogancy, they asserted, was equalled only by his incapacity.

When the petition arrived, Mavrocordato was at Hydra; where he had taken refuge; happy to escape the vengeance of Colocotrone, who had twice attempted to assassinate him. Although president of the legislative body, he willingly accepted the proposal of the Mesolongiots; not only because it placed him beyond the attempts of his numerous enemies;

but because he hoped to add fresh laurels to the crown, which Greece had there bestowed upon him. The fleet did not second his impatience, nor that of the Mesolonghiots; for several weeks elapsed before the sailors could be prevailed upon to put to sea; refusing to depart, till they received three months' pay in advance. Not one of the wealthy capitani or primates of Peloponnesus, or of the islands, notwithstanding the danger which threatened Mesolonghi, would advance the 20,000 dollars which were required. Seeing this, a foreigner, Lord Byron, more alive than themselves to their own interests, supplied the sum upon his own credit.

I found the prince on a divan, on which sat, cross-legged, several of the Roumeliot capitani; whom, immediately after his arrival, he had convoked to a general assembly. Numerous servants, armed with silver pistols and yataghans, waited on the company. They presented them with coffee and pipes, observing precisely the same ceremonial as the Turks; or with the hand, folded on the breast, they stood expecting their masters' commands. As Mavrocordato was busily occupied in conversation with the capitani, I had leisure to observe his physiognomy. The ensemble of his head was excessively fine, being very large in proportion to his body; and its bulk was not a little increased by his bushy jet black hair and prodigious whiskers. His thick eye-brows and huge mustachios gave a wild, romantic, expression to his features, which could not but produce a striking effect on a stranger. The expression of his physiognomy was that of a clever, penetrating, ambitious man. His large Asiatic eyes, full of fire and wit, were tempered by an expression of goodness. His looks had not, perhaps, sufficient dignity; for they had a kind of indecision, and timid flutter, which

prevented him from looking any one stedfastly in the face. His stature was much below the usual size; and his carriage altogether too unmartial to impart much confidence to a half-civilized people, who prize external appearance so much, and are more, perhaps, than others, influenced by an awe-commanding countenance. The prince also paid too little regard to dress; insomuch that even the Franks could not refrain from remarking how much to his disadvantage the contrast was between his plain European attire and travelling-cap, and the splendid, highly graceful, Albanian costume, worn by the other chiefs.

If nature had neglected Mavrocordato's exterior, she amply compensated him for such omission by the lavish manner, in which she had endowed his mind. Educated at Constantinople, he had devoted his earlier years to the study of Oriental languages. Few persons were more intimately acquainted with Persian and Arabic, of which the court language of the Turks is, in great part, formed. He was an excellent Greek scholar, spoke and wrote French like a native of France, and was tolerably well acquainted with English and Italian. Setting aside his wit and other qualities, which, in private life, rendered him the charm of society, we have only to consider him as a public character, belonging to history. He was, perhaps, the only man in Greece, who united, in an eminent degree, unadulterated patriotism, and the talents which form a statesman. He alone was capable of organizing and giving a proper direction to civil administration. This he showed shortly after his arrival in Peloponnesus, when he drew up a form of government out of the chaos, in which every thing then lay. He gave constant proofs of his genius for order, whenever he had the lead of affairs; and few, in any country, ever possessed, more than he did, the

talent of simplifying the most complicated questions, and rendering them intelligible to the most illiterate. The rapidity and precision, with which he despatched business, was surprising; and no doubt, the extensive practice he had had, when secretary to Caradja Hospodar of Wallachia, was now of no small assistance to him. He had been repeatedly accused of retaining too much the principles of a Fanariot education. Incapable of a plain, bold, open conduct, it has been said, that he could only advance by crooked ways, and obtain his ends by tricks and cunning. The untractable, suspicious, and deceitful character of those, he had daily to deal with, might render this necessary. It was the current money of the country. No other would pass.

Indeed, it was fortunate for Greece, that Mavrocordato was so well acquainted with the character of those he had to deal with; since it contributed to the preservation of Mesolonghi, till the arrival of reinforcements enabled it to sustain Omer Pasha's assault. The reproach would be justified, if it could be shown, that he ever pursued any other object, than the good of his country; or that he sacrificed her interests to the prosecution of his own private views. But in every foreign relation, even his bitterest enemies confessed his superiority, by constantly having recourse to his assistance, to settle their disputes; the different naval officers, employed in those transactions, repeatedly rendered justice to his merits as a diplomate, and to his qualities as a gentleman, by refusing to transact business with any other person. Happy would it have been, had Mavrocordato known the extent of his qualifications. He would then not have aspired to military command. Transported however by the desire of serving his country, he often placed himself at the head of troops; but as often, partly

through his incapacity, and partly owing to the jealousy of others, he met with the severest repulses. Perhaps, he might, considering their profound ignorance, combine the plan of a campaign better than most capitani: yet he was, certainly, the worst man to execute it. The greatest fault in his character, and the cause of incalculable evils both to his country and to himself, was a total want of firmness. He was incapable of pronouncing "*no.*" Had the inflexible sternness, the bold unalterable resolution of a Cromwell, made part of his character, how many just reproaches might he have avoided! Indiscriminately liberal in promises, his performance was as invariably nothing. This changed many of his friends into enemies. Whatever deficiencies, however, may be laid to his charge, it must in justice be conceded, that, unlike most of his countrymen and foreigners, who came to Greece in quest of wealth and distinction, he sacrificed the whole of his fortune in the service of his country. He was, indeed, occasionally so distressed, as to be unable to provide for his daily expenses. In the most favourable circumstances he displayed the greatest disinterestedness; his patience and resignation in the most trying situations were exemplary; a constant friend to good order, he invariably pursued what he believed to be most advantageous to the general welfare; so that if he erred, his errors are, in no instance, to be attributed to sordid ambition or badness of heart. How often, too, has he been disappointed in his best endeavours by the lawlessness of barbarians; and even by the jealousy of the more enlightened Greeks and Philhellenes themselves; on whom he relied most for the execution of his plans, and the success of his efforts!

An immense concourse of strangers now filled the

streets, bazaars, and coffee-houses of Mesolonghi. The soldiers alone amounted almost to four thousand; as the capitani of the different provinces of Western Greece had ostentatiously brought with them the greater part of their followers. I observed, with much displeasure, the haughtiness and harshness with which these men treated the unarmed inhabitants of Mesolonghi; for I little expected to meet despotic principles in a nation, that had so lately proclaimed liberty and equality. They denominated their fellow-citizens by the ignominious appellation of *rayas*, in contradistinction to themselves, who in their estimation, alone enjoyed the privilege of being Hellens. They went further, and even proceeded to exact from this oppressed people the same menial services, which they themselves had formerly been compelled to pay to the Turks. Helot-like, the unfortunate peasant and citizen were obliged humbly to submit to the insolence of their masters: there existing no authority to redress their wrongs, the capitani being foremost in setting the disgraceful example.

Nothing could exceed the proud and ostentatious manner, in which these chiefs conducted themselves. In the minutest actions, they aped the pomp and haughtiness of the pasha; and, unfortunately, all their ideas of justice, administration, and civil liberty, were Turkish. What hopes could inspire men, who proposed to themselves similar models for imitation? Whenever a capitano went out, the following was the order of his march: two chiaushes, or police-officers, opened it; followed by the προτοπαλικὰρι or aide-de-camps; next appeared the ψυχουιοι, thus named as dearest to his soul; three or more lads handsomely dressed with their loose tresses floating over the shoulders, bearers of their master's silver-cup, pipe, and

tobacco-bag. Then came the capitano himself, in a magnificent Albanian costume, which, in gala days, is of velvet, embroidered with gold; the right hand on his silver-gilt pistols; the left shoulder occupied in supporting his hanging φλοκκατα. He then theatrically strutted along the streets, throwing contemptuous glances at all who passed by; each of his steps accompanied by the argentine sounds of his silver chains and χαιμαλι. At a respectful distance followed his train, seldom composed of less than fifty soldiers*.

Accustomed as I had been, before and after my arrival at Mesolonghi, to hear constant mention made of the extreme poverty of the Greeks, I felt not a

* I had the curiosity to ascertain the cost of the silver arms and ornaments, supposed to be necessary to complete the dress of an Albanian. The following is the result of my inquiries:

	Dollars.
A silver mounted gun	100
A pair of silver mounted pistols	40
A pair of cartridge boxes	30
A φουσεκλικι, or box for pistol cartridges	15
A μεδουλλαρι, narrow box	4
Five buckles for fastening around the waist the σιλαλιχι, or leathern pouch in which the pistols, yataghan, &c. are worn	8
Yataghan, with silver sheath and handle	25
Ramrod for pistols (γαρβι) (it often contains a dirk)	3
Knife with silver chain	3
A χαιμαλι, or small box with the image of St. George embossed on its outside. It contains relics and amulets against fascination. It is worn on the right side, and is suspended by a silver chain across the chest	6
An Albanian sword with silver sheath	30
Eight buckles for knees and ankles	16
Four ditto for the sandals (ζαρουχια)	4
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The clothes cost no less than a hundred dollars; often twice, and sometimes even thrice, that sum.

little surprised at first to see the most profuse display of handsome silver arms and valuable military ornaments, on those very individuals, who were loudest in their complaints. But I soon came to the conclusion, that either the Greeks were not in so critical a position, or their pecuniary means not so exhausted as they represented; or that every spark of patriotism was extinct among them. I recollected the generous manner, in which the citizens of almost every nation in Europe have, during public emergencies, spontaneously offered their jewels, silver, plate, nay, even their entire fortune, to assist their country. I thought too of the noble enthusiasm that animated, a few years ago, in Prussia even the females; and induced them to consecrate to the maintenance of the army their most precious ornaments; and, with a noble pride, to replace them with iron. I expected the same sacrifices from the sons of Greece; not knowing yet, that slavery had left in their hearts no other feelings than those of the most absolute egotism.

CHAPTER VII.

Mavrocordato opens the sittings of the General Assembly—His speech—Propositions—Manner in which the propositions are treated—Address of the assembly to the government.

On the 23d of December, O. S., Mavrocordato opened the sittings of the general assembly by the following speech. I have given a translation of it, to enable the reader to judge for himself, of the sentiments that animated this most unjustly abused patriot; and of his talents as an orator.

"Gentlemen,

"Unbounded as was my joy, on treading the soil of Western Greece, to learn that your patriotic efforts, your resolution and courage, had defeated all the plans of the enemy; forcing his numerous army, which threatened not only to swallow up this part of Greece, but also to invade the Peloponnesus, to abandon with loss and shame the confines of liberated Greece; no less great is that which I, this day, experience in seeing myself in the midst of so numerous an assembly. I cannot but entertain the liveliest hopes, that it will give birth to many important consequences. For I can affirm, it has spontaneously taken place; owing to the persuasion, felt by the inhabitants of this country, of the necessity of meeting, to examine the state of things in the different prefectures; to inquire into their respective wants; and to deliberate on the mode of providing for them. Led by these motives, since you have with one mind felt the ne-

cessity of consulting, in order to discover what is most advantageous and most useful to the public, I doubt not, but that the good results of your assembly will be general, and will correspond to the intention you had in view, when you proposed coming together.

" If it be often difficult for two or three individuals to agree in their opinions, this is certainly yet more so in a numerous assembly. But that harmony, which has for its basis the impartial examination of what concerns the public weal, far from being detrimental, proves on the contrary of the greatest utility. It leads to the discovery of what is most useful, the end aimed at by every one, when, as above observed, the principal object is an unprejudiced inquiry after truth. That, which gives rise to the most injurious consequences, and which not only you must avoid, but rectify, should it exist amongst you, is the spirit of discord; the exacerbation of your passions, and the concerns of civil broils. Against these you must establish, as the only safe and desirable barrier, union, impartiality, and brotherly harmony.

" I deem it superfluous to enumerate the manifold evils, to which similar discords may give birth; or to quote instances from history; when we have the examples before our eyes. May what we have hitherto suffered serve us as a lesson! I shall venture, however, to say, that fearless as I have ever been of the enemy's forces, which experience has demonstrated we were competent to repel, and which, in future, we may yet more confidently set at defiance, I ever dreaded the consequences of our internal dissensions; because I have in reality seen, that they produce more evils than the efforts of the enemy, were they even double what they are. I am not single in holding this opinion. This apprehension has not been felt by me alone. Many wise men, all the friends of

our liberty, entertain the same fears and mode of thinking. To which of us has not the reflection occurred, that if, even when disunited, we have resisted the late and the preceding invasion; strengthened by concord, we might have attacked the enemy; and carrying desolation and terror into the very heart of his country, forced him to subscribe to our independence? Now, although victorious, since we drove back the invaders, we have yet suffered severely; our country is devastated, and many a prefecture is reduced to a desert, the revenues of which might have defrayed the expenses of the war.

"I cannot credit the excuse, alleged by many, that poverty is the cause of our dissensions, and forces us to wait for, instead of attacking the enemy. This poverty I cannot perceive. On the contrary, after an attentive investigation, I know that Greece possesses all the necessary means, and even more than is requisite, to carry on the war. It suffices, that we pay attention to the administration of these means; that they be not squandered; that government may employ them, where, and how it is necessary. But let us even suppose, that Greece cannot afford these means; that, notwithstanding the best administration, her revenues do not suffice to meet her exigencies; and that we are obliged to seek abroad for pecuniary assistance; will discord prove the best mode of obtaining our purpose? Certainly not; for who will advance money without knowing to whom he lends it; whence and how it will be repaid? A loan is made to a government; but, before a government can negotiate it, it must have it in its power to offer sufficient guarantees to the lenders. But it enjoys that faculty only when it is obeyed; and when every citizen concurs to support and strengthen its authority. The contrary of this is the source, from which

flow all our evils. Union alone can put an end to them, and as soon as harmony shall reign among all true patriots, then will the rest be remedied as soon as the necessary loan shall have been contracted.

" As for me, gentlemen, in compliance with your demand to the Chief Government, to send me here, in order to settle the affairs of this part of Greece, I now find myself before you. I am bound to confess to you, that I am not aware of what utility my presence can be, if true union and friendship do not reign amongst you. Whatever good may arise, it will not be derived from me; but from your resolution of carrying it into execution. If you are united, you are, of yourselves, competent to do it; but neither I, nor any one else, can prove useful to you, should you be disunited.

" It is perhaps necessary, I should make a few observations on a rumour, which, I see with pleasure, is void of foundation. Some persons report, that one of the chief purposes of the present assembly is, to cement an union between eastern and western Greece, and to separate it from Peloponnesus. An intention of this kind never could exist in the mind of any genuine patriot. For all such must feel the necessity of union and centralization. Separation is entirely out of the question. If the war, existing on continental Greece, cause expenses, which the limited revenues of its prefectures are not sufficient to meet, while in Peloponnesus the revenues exceed the expenditure; it is meet, we should request of the government to consecrate a portion to our wants. If we know, that the revenues are squandered, it is just, we should demand the rectification of those abuses; and in order to facilitate the attainment of this desirable end, we should strengthen the Government; but never separate or give occasion to fresh dissensions be-

tween continental Greece and Peloponnesus. Do all the inhabitants of Peloponnesus appropriate to themselves the public revenues? are they all the cause of the bad administration? Certainly not. After examining the question calmly and with impartiality, and detecting the real remedy of the evils, which this state of things engenders; duty requires us to submit to government, the result of our inquiries, and to endeavour to put an end to every abuse. Far be it from us to entangle ourselves in new quarrels, and give rise to fresh causes of enmity.

" It appears to me necessary to the maintenance of order in your assembly, that you should appoint two secretaries to keep the journals of your sittings, and to write whatever you may deem necessary.

" Although your meetings be public, yet, in order to avoid confusion, two or three individuals of every prefecture should be chosen as representatives.

" As numerous affairs will be brought before you, it is necessary, for the sake of order and despatch, to appoint commissions, which shall examine the details of affairs, and make you reports, which will be submitted to general and mature investigation, and be approved, modified, or rejected according to plurality of voices.

" As to me, gentlemen, if my opinion can prove useful in any of your deliberations, I shall explain it freely and impartially. I shall state it without reserve. You will hear and judge it. For the moment, I submit to your investigation several propositions, the solution of which appears to me to be the essential object of the actual meeting.

" Again, I trust, you will observe in its perfect integrity that union between you, which alone can lead the affairs of our country to a happy termination.

"PROPOSITIONS.

"*A.* How can an end be put to the abuses, existing in the prefectures, and sufficient protection given to their inhabitants, to induce them to return to their occupations, in order that the country may not remain a desert?

"*B.* How many soldiers must be maintained on full pay, and from what sources can the money and provisions, necessary to keep them, be drawn?

"*C.* How can harmony and order be made to regulate our military operations; and thus ensure their success?

"*D.* How can the disputes between the military chiefs, as to the division of the prefectures, be settled?

"*E.* What measures can be adopted to consolidate national union, to terminate disputes, and to strengthen government?"

During the seven days, the assembly lasted, owing especially to the predominance of military interest, the second proposition was maturely and almost solely considered. Many violent discussions arose, before the number of troops to be kept on foot could be settled, and still more so, when they came to decide how many men each capitano should command; every one wishing to be foremost on the list. It would be superfluous to relate the various other resolutions, entered upon by the assembly; for not one of them was put afterwards into practice; those, that made them, being the first to infringe them. I shall however, by way of epilogue, submit to the reader a translation of the letter, they addressed to the government, before the meeting was dissolved.

" Venerable government;—

" It is impossible, the venerable government should be ignorant of the manifold calamities, these regions have, during the last two years, suffered, from the presence of two powerful invading armies. We judged it expedient to form an assembly, composed of the deputies of the principal prefectures of Western Greece, in order to deliberate in common, and devise some slight alleviation to our sufferings. The return of the inhabitants to their villages, ruined by the enemy; the introduction of order in the administration of public revenues; the determining the means of protecting these countries against future invasions of the enemy; the preparation of expeditions against him; the establishment of internal tranquillity;—these have been the principal subjects, we have taken into consideration during the sittings of the present assembly. We have determined, to maintain a body of 3000 soldiers; among which, we include the Suliots and all those, whose profession from their youth upwards has been that of arms; thus, to procure to them the means of existence; and, at the same time, provide for the defence of the country and good order. This corps will include the whole of our military. They are satisfied with the usual pay, fixed by government: viz. three dollars per month.

" The chiefs and officers will content themselves with receiving less than usual; for they have resolved to follow a system of the most exact public economy; and not only the military but also the other functionaries are ready to submit themselves to the severest laws, for the maintenance of good order; and are satisfied to receive only what suffices to defray their indispensable expenses. Yet with all due economy, how moderate soever may be our expenditure, our

wants far exceed the revenues from our provinces, as the venerable government will be able to judge, by examining the accounts of our expenditure and income, which we shortly propose submitting to its inspection. To keep a soldier under obedience, it is necessary to pay him with punctuality: nine months' arrears are due to the Suliots; and during the late blockade, debts have been contracted, which hitherto remain unpaid: and yet last year's revenue, up to the first of March next, is already altogether expended. Taking also into consideration the large sums, requisite to maintain a naval force, and to purchase the necessary provisions, which our devastated country cannot for the moment supply, the venerable government may judge, whether we possess the means of surmounting difficulties so considerable. We request it to recollect, that the safety of the rest of Greece depends on the conservation of this portion of it; and we rely on its devising ways of procuring us assistance. All our hopes centre in the provident care of the venerable senate of the nation, as it is alive to the wants of the country, and supports the present conflict in order to establish the reign of law. We flatter ourselves that our petitions will be granted; since combating, as we do, for the safety and preservation of these provinces, we fight for that of the whole nation, and for the consolidation of the constitution. Penetrated with sentiments of the most profound respect, we remain, &c."

This letter, signed by the Capitani, Eparchs and representatives of Mesolonghi, Anatolico, &c. was presented to the senate, at a moment, when it would have been very much embarrassed to satisfy their demands. Forced precipitately to abandon Argos, as before related, this body had retired to Cranidi,

equally destitute of money and of troops. The dignified manner, however, in which the senators replied, unarmed, to the armed force, that entered the room, where they held their sittings; and the firmness, displayed by them in the midst of threats, insults and persecution, won them the public esteem and admiration. The islanders, in consequence, addressed to them a letter; in which they forcibly expressed their indignation at the conduct of those men, who, for their own sordid interests, were exposing their country to inevitable ruin; and they offered their services, at the same time, to enable the government to put an end to these acts of violence.

CHAPTER VIII.

Publication of a newspaper—Conduct of Dr. Meyer, as editor—Establishment of an hospital—Author appointed to the superintendence of it—Lord Byron sails from Zante—Danger of falling into the hands of the Turks—His escape—Lands at Mesolonghi—Generous conduct of Mahmoud Capitan.

THE publication of a newspaper, which appeared at this time, produced little or no sensation on the Mesolonghiots. The greater part of the military chiefs, both in Peloponnesus and Continental Greece, could not read; and among the primates, as the event proved, few gave themselves the trouble of looking at a paper. Indeed there were not in the whole country forty Greek subscribers; and had it not been for the numerous subscriptions from the Ionian Islands and London, the printer would not have had sufficient money to pay even for his ink. If, under the circumstances of the moment, a newspaper could have been productive of advantage to the Greek public, it should have been written in a spirit very different from that, which animated the articles of the Greek Chronicle.

The first step towards the establishment of a free press, as Lord Byron justly observed, was the formation of a corps, whose only occupation should be, to act as body guard to the printing-office and editor. For in case he thought fit to expose and inveigh against the numberless and crying abuses of a powerful capitano, who should insure him against the resentment of the barbarian, or that of his friends? If Lord Byron did not approve Colonel Stanhope's opinion, it was not because his lordship was not a liberal; but because he foresaw, that not only no sort

of advantage would accrue from it to the nation at large, but that it would become a firebrand of discord at home, and increase the number of enemies abroad. Had the colonel made more use of his reflection, would he not have perceived how injudicious it was, at a moment when many of the powers were looking on the Greek revolution with jealousy and suspicion, to incite the editor to comment boldly, not only on their hostile dispositions towards Greece, but to declaim against their internal tyrannical administration? So completely heedless of the consequences was Dr. Meyer, that he published in the 20th number of his newspaper an address to the Hungarians, conceived in so liberal and revolutionary a language, that it could not fail to excite the animadversion of the court of Vienna, already so ill-disposed towards Greece; and induce her perhaps to take measures to hasten the ruin of her rising liberties. Lord Byron felt himself in duty bound to destroy every copy of that number, and obliged the editor solemnly to promise the government, that he would abstain from any critical observations on the political conduct of European cabinets.

The proposals for the construction of proper roads for the sake of facilitating the communication of ideas, trade, and personal intercourse, surprised the military chiefs not a little. The improvement of roads would facilitate invasions, by opening a passage for the enemy's cavalry, provisions, heavy artillery, &c. &c.; while their present state offered no hinderance to the light armed Greek, who, even during the longest march, unincumbered by baggage, climbs the steepest ascents with almost as much ease as he walks along the plain. In fact not a single achievement of any note has taken place since the beginning of the Greek revolution, that did not owe its success chiefly to the

difficulties of the roads, fords or passes, which are the elements, as it were, of guerilla warfare.

When the establishment of an hospital was proposed to Mavrocordato, to the primates of Mesolonghi, and the capitani, they unanimously concurred in saying, that nothing was more necessary; and that it would be accompanied by inexpressible advantages to their countrymen. In no part of Greece was the necessity of a similar institution more lamentably felt. During every invasion, when its fortifications afforded shelter to the weaker part of the population of Western Greece, the concourse of so many human beings, the insalubrious air, and the privations endured, constantly brought on a multitude of complaints; more especially from the mountaineers, who either languished or perished for want of medical attendance. More than once have I witnessed the heartrending scene of strangers dying, unheeded, in the open streets of the town they had come to defend. On hearing that the London Greek Committee and the Society of Friends had sent, at their own expense, medicines, instruments and medical men, the Greeks expressed their gratitude in the warmest terms. But when after these preliminaries the colonel added, to the primates of Mesolonghi, that he expected they would have no difficulty in allotting one of the Turkish houses for the reception of the sick, furnish it with beds, linen, &c., and allow a certain sum for the maintenance of patients, servants and convalescents; a most striking change took place in their physiognomy; and, after many protestations of utter poverty, unequalled by those of the most eloquent mendicant, they declared themselves unable to complete that charitable work. It certainly required no small share of barefacedness to make such assertions before individuals, who all the while admired the beauty of

their dress and their glittering arms; and who knew, that the sequins, covering the féri and adorning the tresses of one of their wives, or the doubloons which, linked together, formed a triangular breast-plate, would suffice to defray those trifling expenses for many years. The proposal made to them of selling one of the numerous Turkish properties, and appropriating the money to the desired purpose, was declared impracticable; and after repeated procrastination, they ended by a long litany of difficulties, complaints and fanciful stories, capable of disheartening the warmest philanthropist.

Obliged for the moment to give up every hope of inducing the Greeks to contribute to the establishment of an hospital, but anxious to enter immediately into the performance of my medical duties, I mentioned to Colonel Stanhope, that nothing could be now done for the relief of the indigent sick and soldier, than to establish a dispensary on a footing, similar to those in England. Having obtained his permission, I caused the following notice to be printed, and circulated through the town.

"NOTICE.

"A public dispensary will be opened at Mesolonghi on the 10th of January, under the superintendence of Mr. J. Millingen.

"The chief object of this institution is to give medical advice and medicines, gratis, to the poor and soldiers. Every one else may, however, receive medicines and apply for advice, by paying a moderate consideration.

"In order to prevent abuses, the soldiers are expected to bring a certificate from their capitano; and the poor, one, undersigned by a magistrate.

"The indigent sick, who are confined to their beds,

will be regularly visited; others will present themselves to the director of the dispensary, who may daily be found at the Chani, close to the seraglio, two hours before mid-day.

"A similar establishment will shortly be formed at Athens, by Mr. Tindall, who, as well as Mr. Millingen, has been sent by the Greek Committee of London."

While the colonel was displaying, to so little purpose, the warmest zeal, and the most exemplary patience, in the endeavour to realize the chief objects of his mission; an event took place, which served to display how lively the interest was, which the expectation of Lord Byron's arrival had raised among the inhabitants of Western Greece. The information, brought by a Zantiot boat, that his lordship would positively sail from that island on the 30th of December, spread universal joy. In the afternoon of that day, while every one was trying to descry the wished-for sail, the Turkish vessels came out of the gulf; and on the appearance of this superior force, the Greek ships, then at anchor off Mesolonghi, cut their cables and took to flight. It was instantly conjectured, that Youssouf Pasha, apprized by his agents at Zante of Lord Byron's departure, had ordered his vessels to intercept him on his passage; and this seemed the more probable, as they were seen to establish a regular cruize between the Scrofes and Cape Papa. The people vented their execrations against the Spezziots. "If they thought themselves not fit to cope with the superior force of the enemy," said they, "could they not have kept up for some time a lively cannonade, in order to apprize Lord Byron, whom they knew to be at sea, that danger existed?"

Convinced from the information, received before leaving Zante, that the enemy's ships were within the Gulf of Corinth, he advanced in all security of mind in his mistico. Two hours before daylight, he found himself near a large vessel, which mistaking, in the obscurity, for a Greek, he ordered the man at the helm to approach. The confused cries of the Turkish sailors made him soon aware of his error. Profiting of the darkness and of the freshness of the breeze, he hastened to steer towards the Scrofes, that fortunately were nigh, and where the frigate sought in vain to follow him. His anxiety, as he confessed himself, while relating this hair-breadth escape, was, on this occasion, excessive. Little moved by the sense of his own danger, he trembled for the Suliots and other Greeks who were with him. He knew that, had the boat been taken, they would have been inhumanly put to death. His noble and impetuous character would not have allowed him to see a similar spectacle, without attempting to defend them; and in so doing, he would, no doubt, have met the same fate as his followers.

A violent tempest arose the next morning, and lasted three days without intermission. Surrounded by rocks on every side, the sailors, thinking their fate inevitable, had lost all courage. Lord Byron's tranquillity of mind was undisturbed. Aware that, should the miserable anchor they had give way, the ship would be dashed to atoms, he had recommended to Lucca, a young Greek of Patras, confided to his benevolence by the youth's mother, to keep himself ready in case of a similar accident, to mount on his back, for he would save him by swimming. Moments like these were highly congenial to his muse. A storm was for him a source of poetical delight; and

he wrote, with a pencil, while the boat was tossing about, some stanzas on the Suliots, which, according to him, would not be ranked among his worst.

After the tempest had somewhat subsided, though the sea continued much agitated, he leapt into the waves; and, accompanied by Lion, his favourite Newfoundland dog, for about two hours took delight in riding on the heaving billows. He then wrote a note to Colonel Stanhope, informing him where his mistico lay; and requesting to be apprized whether he might venture to Mesolonghi without danger. Mavrocordato immediately despatched five armed boats and a Greek brig, which invited his lordship to Vasiladi, and on the 6th of January, he landed at Mesolonghi, in the midst of the acclamations of a numerous population and soldiers, who had assembled on the beach; Mavrocordato, the capitani and primates, advancing to receive and welcome him.

How different were his feelings, this day, on treading the same soil, which, a few years before, he had visited when enslaved! It was now free. The Raya, whom he then saw vilely crouching at his master's feet, now rent the air with cries of ζητα ελευθερια. Proud of having reassumed his forgotten name of Hellen, he celebrated the arrival of Byron with the reiterated sounds of those arms, which had laid low many of the proud oppressors of Greece. The joy, inspired by Lord Byron's presence, was as universal as it was sincere. His reception resembled a triumph; for every one hailed him as a deliverer, whose hand was to heal the calamities yet brooding over Greece. In this happy moment of illusion, every one, banishing fear from his mind, considered the day the brightest of his life; since it brought amongst them the surest earnest of independence and prosperity.

The cutter, in which Count Gamba had embarked,

and which contained the greater part of the money, Lord Byron had thought expedient to bring over to Greece, was not equally fortunate in avoiding the enemy; though at last it escaped from their hands in a manner yet more surprising. Towards day-break, having fallen in with the same Turkish frigate, its commander, Mahmoud Capitan, ordered the Zantiot captain on board; and, brandishing his scimitar over his head, asked him whether he dared to say, that he was not bound for Mesolonghi. Valsamachi was so terror-struck by his threatening mien, that, losing all presence of mind, he confessed that he was proceeding to that town. He had scarcely terminated his imprudent confession, than the Turk raised his arm to cut the Ionian's head off, and ordered the cutter to be sunk. "Wilt thou destroy," cried the Greek, "the life of him, who saved thine own?" The Turk suspended his blow, and attentively considering him, soon recognised the person, who, some years previous, had saved him after a shipwreck in the Black Sea. He fell on his neck, and embracing him, gave him the promise, that, though, for appearance sake, he must lead him to the Castles, he would exert all his influence to procure his immediate release. Nothing might have been easier than to prove the cutter to be fair prize. Although the clearance was for Calamo, he was taken close to Mesolonghi; the captain and crew had owned, that they were bound for that place; and, notwithstanding the tale made out by Gamba, its falsehood might have been soon demonstrated by inspecting the ship; where printing presses, cannons with Lord Byron's arms and name, and helmets, could not easily be passed as part of the travelling apparatus of an English gentleman. Let the praise, he so justly deserved, be rendered to Mahmoud. A noble and generous action has double

merit, when it is that of a barbarian and an enemy; and let us not attribute it to his stupidity, as the Mesolonghiots did, incapable of supposing how gratitude can be stronger than avarice. Youssouf Pasha was so imposed upon by Mahmoud's report, as to treat the Count with every mark of politeness. After receiving the necessary passport, the cutter sailed from Patras and arrived on the 5th at Mesolonghi.

CHAPTER IX.

Lord Byron endeavours in vain to unite the Suliots—Organizes a corps of artillery—Major Parry—Errors of the Greek Committee in London—German officers.

When Lord Byron landed, he wore a military uniform. By appearing in that dress for the first time, and on so solemn an occasion, he no doubt wished it to be understood, that his intention, on coming out to Greece, was, to devote himself especially to military occupations. His house was filled with soldiers; his receiving room resembled an arsenal of war, rather than the habitation of a poet. Its walls were decorated with swords, pistols, Turkish sabres, dirks, rifles, guns, blunderbusses, bayonets, helmets, and trumpets, fantastically suspended, so as to form various figures; and attacks, surprises, charges, ambuscades, battles, sieges, were almost the only topics of his conversation with the different capitani. Having visited the country of most of them; and gifted, as he was, with the most surprising local memory, he often excited their wonder, by describing to them the most important passes with the minutest accuracy; stating the distance from place to place; and entering into details and particulars, which even the natives scarcely recollected.

Having invited the principal Suliots to assemble at his house, after dwelling lightly on the loss of their native country, and lamenting their dispersion; he expressed the design he entertained, of uniting them into one body, and maintaining them at his

own expense; till they had won from the enemy a country, where they might settle with their families, which were now in so miserable a condition as to be compelled to trust to the forced hospitality of strangers. He was aware, that there hardly remained eight hundred out of the brave defenders of Suli; but, with similar companions, no enterprise would appear arduous, and no danger terrible.

Before Lord Byron imparted to them his design, he judged it absolutely necessary, that they should elect among themselves a general, and bind themselves by a solemn oath punctually to obey his orders. There existed, unfortunately, not less than five different clans among this unfortunate people: and their calamities had increased instead of tempering the bitterness of their hatred. This feeling was so deeply rooted, that a man, belonging to the φρατρια of Zavella or Photamara, would almost as readily have become a Mussulman, as obey the orders of a Botzari; and the house of Lord Byron was daily the theatre of their animosities. Perceiving, at last, that his warmest remonstrances were of no avail, and that family quarrels had over their minds more force than personal or national interests, he gave up his project of uniting them into one legion.

Highly sensible to this unexpected disappointment, and believing it to arise, in great measure, from the chiefs, he ordered Draco and Lambro Zerva, both Suliots, to enrol into his service three hundred of their countrymen, or others of the best soldiers they could select. He directed, also, his attention to the formation of a corps of artillery, the want of which was imperiously felt. And he enlisted all the German Philhellenes, who had, a few days previous, arrived from the Morea in the most wretched condition imaginable. Several of these,

but especially Kindermann, were officers of merit; and had not Colonel Stanhope and the Greek Committee extolled so much Parry's praises, and appointed him before his arrival, major of the brigade of artillery, and chief engineer, there can be no doubt, that, intrusted to their care, the Greek soldiers would, in a short time, have learned to perform their evolutions with as much accuracy as European soldiers, and have thence become of essential use to their country. The Greeks who, beyond comparison, are more gifted with the talent of imitation than any other nation, learned with a rapidity that astonished every European officer. The title of colonel of the brigade of artillery was conferred upon Major Parry. His lordship gave to me the title of staff-surgeon; the irregulars, also, were placed under my medical care.

It soon became evident, that little co-operation could be expected between Lord Byron and the Honourable Colonel Stanhope, agent of the Greek Committee. Lord Byron was fully persuaded, that in the degraded state of the Greek nation, a republican form of government was totally unsuited, as well as incompatible with her situation, in respect to the neighbouring states of Europe. Colonel Stanhope, whose enthusiasm for the cause was extreme, supposed them, on the other hand, to be endowed with the same virtue which their ancestors displayed.

Unless government possessed the means of making the established laws respected, and of vindicating its authority, when insulted, no hopes could be formed for the obtaining a loan in England, for the establishment of order, or the attainment of civil liberty. It was indispensable, that it should have at its full disposal a superior force. This only could crush the

fiend of civil war, which had, of late, again begun to raise its head in Peloponnesus. The same means would enable it, also, to establish a more solid barrier against the enemy's future aggressions. These desirable ends would be fulfilled only by a powerful body of regular troops; and I have heard Lord Byron bitterly lament, that the Greek Committee, instead of employing the sums, arising from the subscriptions, to the purchase of objects of very secondary importance, had not consecrated them to the formation of a regiment, under the command of Colonel Napier, a man whose courage, talent, and probity were universally admitted and admired.

This idea was ever foremost in his mind; and had not the hand of death deprived Greece of his councils, he would have carried it into execution; and the more easily, since he had been appointed chief commissary to the loan. Colonel Stanhope, on the contrary, exclaimed to every one, who approached him: "Never let the Greeks tolerate a standing army, nor foreign troops. The principles of a mercenary army are opposed to those of freedom, and their interests are at variance with their duty."

Parry arrived at Mesolonghi, in the beginning of February, on board the Anna, an English brig, chartered by the London Greek Committee. It was laden with ammunition, cannons, printing-presses, medicines, and all the apparatus, necessary to the establishment of a military laboratory in Greece. Several mechanics came at the same time. They had engaged themselves to remain in Greece the time, judged necessary for the instruction of several natives in the various branches they professed. Messrs. Humphries, Fowkes, Winter, Sass, and Luptow came out, also, by the same ship.

By sending out men and articles like these to a country like Greece, the Committee displayed as much sagacity as the speculator, who had shipped skates for the Brazils. The colonel was, after his arrival, so embarrassed how to dispose of the laboratory, that he did not know even where to establish it. Spezzia, Anapli, Athens were, in turn, fixed upon; but at last it was decided in favour of Mesolonghi. The Greeks, if possible, knew still less what should be done with the greater part of these articles; and in fact, they looked upon them with so much indifference, that, when landed, no one would transport them to the seraglio, the building appointed for their reception. "Hellens are soldiers; not porters;" was the reply, made to the repeated solicitations for assistance. They were, however, at last, transported by the soldiers belonging to the artillery brigade; and from that day, till the taking of Mesolonghi, all the apparatus of the laboratory remained unemployed in the yard and magazines of the seraglio; and as long as the English workmen remained, nothing could be undertaken for want of coals and timber; and these no one would be at the expense of purchasing.

Parry, on his arrival, gained Lord Byron's confidence entirely; and, to give him a proof of his esteem, his lordship appointed him major in the artillery-brigade. From that day, all the hopes which the rapid progress of that corps had excited, were at an end. The best officers gave in resignations; stating that, ever proud of serving under Lord Byron, neither their honour, nor the interest of the service, allowed them to obey a man, who never had had any other profession or acquaintances than those of a shipwright. Kindermann, Dittmar, and other

German officers, who had occupied distinguished ranks in the Prussian armies, stated to him evident proofs of Parry's ignorance of artillery; and the little likelihood there was of a person's having ever served, as he pretended, in the American or any other army, who presented himself before the troops with an apron and hammer. Lord Byron, however, was so infatuated in favour of Parry, that, neglecting to look into the affair with his own eyes, he attributed those complaints to jealousy, and to German ideas of etiquette; quite misplaced in a country, where merit, and not former titles, established distinctions between individuals.

Messrs. Humphries, Finlay, Fowkes, Blackett, and Winter, refused taking service in the artillery brigade for the above reasons; and those officers, who remained, did it out of necessity; poverty, not their will, consenting.

To a certain extent, Lord Byron was excusable. Ignorant himself of military matters, how could he suppose Parry so destitute of merit as he was represented, when Colonel Stanhope, and, in fact, the whole Committee, several members of which were officers of distinction, gave him the most flattering recommendations? But Lord Byron overlooked, for the moment, the truth, which he acknowledged on other occasions, viz. that, notwithstanding his pretensions to good sense and judgment, John Bull is, at times, the most credulous creature in existence, and allows himself to be imposed upon and dazzled by the tinsel of quackery, with all the simplicity of an unreflecting child. This man, who so completely acquired the confidence of the Committee, as to be looked upon by them as the future palladium of Greece, was as ignorant as he was presumptuous. Parry had been introduced to the Committee by Mr.

Gordon, who recommended him as a man, who possessed all the requisite qualities for serving the Greeks. Without dwelling on his acquaintance with almost every branch of military mechanics, it was sufficient to inform them, that he knew the composition of Congreve rockets. With this mighty instrument of mischief, the Greeks would, at once, paralyze all the efforts of their enemy by land as well as by sea. The valour of their cavalry, the only arm against which the Greeks were not yet able to cope, would, through these rockets, become inefficient; and their vessels would, thanks to the same means, more easily be destroyed, than by expensive and unmanageable fireships.

Once introduced to the notice of the Committee, Parry soon paved his way to their confidence. He gradually assumed so much self-assurance, that none of the members, who were not military, could venture to make him any objections or remarks, without his replying to them (to use a vulgar but characteristic expression) in a bullying manner; ridiculing their attempts to talk on subjects, they could not comprehend. This assurance was successful, and Parry was recommended to Lord Byron as a man essentially important to Greece; but, unfortunately, of a temper irascible, obstinate, and difficult to manage.

In order to gain an ascendant over this hitherto unmanageable man, Lord Byron treated him with particular kindness and generosity, and encouraged him by praise and marks of confidence. Parry, on his side, was indefatigable. No hundred-handed Briareus could have undertaken more. He gave plans for the erection of a laboratory, and presided over the works. He paved the yard of the seraglio, repaired batteries, instructed the troops in the musket and

cannon exercise, gave lessons with the broad-sword, inspected the fortifications, gave orders to Cocchini, the engineer; repaired gun-carriages, &c. Nothing could be done without him; even the regimental tailors awaiting his directions.

All this was *Much ado about nothing;* and although things went on as Parry wished, he hourly lamented the impossibility of making his rockets, incendiary kites, and improved Grecian fires, since the English mechanics could not work till coals arrived. A Turkish ship could not appear, without his exclaiming; "it is not *my* fault if I do not burn it." Unfortunately, about this time a report was circulated at Mesolonghi, that the Turkish authorities, alarmed at these preparations, had set a price on the lives of the Europeans engaged in the Greek service, and great apprehensions were, in consequence, entertained.

While the minds of the mechanics, in particular, were preyed upon by these fears, the following tragical event occurred: a sentinel had been placed at the gate of the seraglio, to prevent every one, who did not belong to the laboratory from entering. A Suliot, named Toti, presented himself; and, without paying the slightest attention to the prohibition, boldly walked in. Lieutenant Sass, a Swede, informed of this, came up to the Suliot; and, pushing him roughly, ordered him to go out. On his refusal, the officer drew out his sabre, and struck him with its flat edge. Incensed at this, the Suliot, who was of Herculean strength, cut the Swede's left arm almost entirely off with one stroke of his yataghan; and, immediately after, shot him through the head. The soldiers belonging to the artillery brigade shut the gate, and after inflicting several wounds on Toti, who continued to defend himself, succeeded in securing him. His countrymen, with whom he was a

favourite, being informed of the accident, hastened to the seraglio, and would have proceeded to acts of violence, had not their friend been delivered into their hands. The next morning, Sass was buried with military honours. The Suliots attended the funeral; and thus terminated the temporary misunderstanding between them and the Franks. Nothing, however, could calm the anxieties and fears of the mechanics. With death-like faces, they presented themselves at Lord Byron's house, and implored permission to return to their families. This being instantly granted, they embarked for the Ionian Islands.

CHAPTER X.

Application of Hatajè's mother to the author—Her introduction to Lord Byron—His adoption of her—Jealousy of Mavrocordato —Conduct of Lord Byron in respect to him.

WHEN I passed to the Chanè, where the apartments appropriated to the establishment of the dispensary were, the wife of Hussein Aga, one of the Turkish inhabitants of Mesolonghi, came to me, and imploring my pity, begged me to allow her to remain under my roof, in order to shelter her from the brutality and cruelty of the Greeks. They had murdered all her relations, and two of her boys; and the marks remained on the angle of the wall, against which, a few weeks previously, they had dashed the brains of the youngest; only five years of age. A little girl, nine years old, remained to be the only companion of her misery. Like a timid lamb, she stood by her mother, naked and shivering; drawing closer and closer to her side. Her little hands were folded like a suppliant's, and her large beautiful eyes, so accustomed to see acts of horror and cruelty, looked at me now and then, hardly daring to implore pity. "Take us," said she; "we will serve you, and be your slaves; or you will be responsible before God, for whatever may happen to us." I could not see so eloquent a picture of distress unmoved; and from that day I treated them as relatives. Some weeks after, I happened to mention before Lord Byron some circumstances, relative to these individuals, and spoke with so much admiration of the noble fortitude displayed

by Husseinina in the midst of her calamities; of the courage, maternal love inspired her with on several occasions; of the dignified manner in which she replied to the insults of her persecutors; that he expressed the wish of seeing her and her child. On doing so he became so struck by Hatajè's beauty, the naïveté of her answers, and the spiritedness of her observations on the murderers of her brethren, that he decided on adopting her. "Banish fear for ever from your mind," said he to the mother; "your child shall, henceforth, be mine. I have a daughter in England. To her I will send you. They are both of the same age; and as she is alone, she will, no doubt, like a companion who may, at times, talk to her of her father. Do not shudder at the idea of changing your religion; for I insist on your professing no other but the Musulman." She seized his hand, kissed it with energy, and raising to heaven her eyes, filled with tears of gratitude, she repeated expressively, "Allah is great!" He immediately ordered more costly dresses to be made for them, than those I had given them; and sent to Hatajè a necklace of sequins. Twice a week, I was desired to send them to his house. He would then take the little girl on his knees, and caress her with all the fondness of a father.

Nothing could surpass the jealousy of the Mesolonghiot women, when they beheld the manner, in which these former objects of their insults were now treated. One day the little girl, with eyes drowned in tears, entered his room; and, returning to him her necklace, asked for the clothes, she formerly wore. "They are not like these," said she; "but when I wore them the Mesolonghiots did not tell me, they would kill both me and my mother." Lord Byron burst into a violent rage, and, in order to spite

the Mesolonghiot population, ordered the most expensive clothes to be made for Hatajè; and had the intention of covering her, according to the Oriental fashion, with golden pieces of money, to parade her on horseback through the principal streets of the town.

From the moment, I received Husseinina into my house, the other unfortunate Turkish women, that had miraculously escaped the general slaughter, learning from her how different were the feelings and treatment of the English towards their nation and sex from those of the Greeks, begun to feel hope enliven their despondency. They daily called at my lodgings; and by means of my servant, a Suliot who spoke Turkish as fluently as he did Italian, gave me a relation of their misfortunes, and the numberless horrors of which they had been spectators. Giul, a woman possessed of surprising natural talent and fluency of language, and once of great beauty, added one day: "Our fears are not yet over; we are kept as victims for future sacrifices, hourly expecting our doom. An unpleasant piece of news, a drunken party, a fit of ill-humour, or of caprice, may decide our fate. We are then hunted down the streets like wild beasts; till some one of us, or of our children, is immolated to their insatiable cruelty. Our only hope centres in you. One word of yours to Lord Byron can save many lives. Can you refuse doing it? Let him send us to any part of Turkey. We are women and children, can the Greeks fear us?" I hastened to give Lord Byron a faithful picture of the position of these wretched individuals. Knowing and relieving the distressed were, with him, simultaneous actions. A few days after, notice was given to every Turkish woman to prepare for departure. All, a few excepted, embarked and were conveyed at his

was no dupe to his intrigues. One evening while, as usual, the English gentlemen, then at Mesolonghi, were at Lord Byron's house enjoying the never-failing charm of his society, Mavrocordato entered the room, at a moment, the conversation was most interesting. His lordship received him in a very cool manner; and answered him, with some degree of peevishness; and, notwithstanding Mavrocordato's artful manner of introducing the business, that interested him most, he constantly turned the conversation to another subject. Annoyed to see the prince returning again and again to the charge, Lord Byron got up, and began walking up and down the room. Finding that Mavrocordato persisted in not taking the hint, he could no longer refrain his ill humour; but addressing us, in English, begun by saying: he wished that d—d botherer would regale us with his absence; that he sat there with as much obstinacy, as the Israelites, who during the earlier part of his life had often made him unpleasant visits to solicit payment, &c. Although Mavrocordato understood every word, he judged it more advisable to overlook this affront; he continued the conversation, therefore, as if he had not heard a single word; and shortly after withdrew with as smiling and agreeable a look, as when he first entered the room.

On observing to Lord Byron, that the prince had undoubtedly understood every word he had been uttering, he merely replied; "I trust he has." Had Lord Byron lived, the misunderstanding between these two distinguished individuals would, doubtless, have been merely temporary; their principles and love of order being similar; and the ends, they proposed attaining, the same; and however different the roads, they were certain of meeting at last.

CHAPTER XI.

Author appointed surgeon-in-chief of the Greek army—Negotiation with the Albanians—Manners, treatment, education and beauty of Greek women.

THE chief object of Lord Byron's thoughts for the moment was to gain possession of Epacto; a fortress which, once in the hands of the Greeks, would materially facilitate the siege of Patras, and they must be masters of the castles, before they could reasonably hope to see their national independence incontestably acknowledged by European powers. Kindermann was ordered to reconnoitre the former place, and to take a plan of its fortifications. They are constructed on the declivity of a hill, forming a triangle, the base of which is close to the sea. The walls, which resemble those of every fortress in Greece and the islands, are of Venetian construction, but without ditches. A portion of them, is commanded by a neighbouring hill; so that, with a regular force, its siege would not be a very arduous undertaking; but against undisciplined troops like the Greeks it is impregnable, except by famine. Preparations were actively begun, and it was signified to the different capitani to keep themselves in readiness for taking the field in the first days of April.

The governor-general then gave me the title of surgeon-in-chief to the army of Western Greece; a situation which I filled, till I was ordered to pass over to Peloponnesus in 1825. It was more honourable than lucrative; for my monthly pay did not exceed two pounds. Even this moderate sum was not

regularly paid; and I was, like all the Frank officers, thirteen months without receiving any thing; and it was at last only by particular favour, that I obtained what was due to me.

While Lord Byron was waiting the approach of spring with impatience, Mavrocordato observed to him, that the secret, which Philip of Macedon had discovered for taking the strongest fortresses, was found to possess also a very miraculous influence on Albanian garrisons; and that in the present instance it would be advisable to try its effect; since that of Epacto was entirely composed of soldiers of that nation, commanded by Hassan Pasha, himself an Albanian. They had remained two years without pay; and as their provisions were neither of the best quality nor very abundant, their dissatisfaction had risen to the highest degree. Losing all consideration for their chief, they daily insulted or ill treated him; and more than once, when he shut himself up in his harem, they heaped up all sorts of rubbish under his room, and set fire to it, in order to smoke him like a fox in his hole.

A more favourable opportunity could not be imagined for proposing pecuniary negotiations for the surrender of the fortress. Phoca, (nephew of the famous Capitan Giorgiachi, who had distinguished himself so much, during the insurrection of Moldavia), was then eparch of the prefecture of Venetico, and he undertook to manage the business. The Albanians lent a favourable ear to his proposals. They demanded 40,000 dollars, and a free passage to their country. But wishing to save appearances, and not be suspected of treason, they required, that the Greeks should present themselves before the place, with the artillery, and every thing else which might be required for a siege: after a few days' sham fight,

they would surrender the fortress. After much bargaining they at last agreed to content themselves with 30,000 dollars; so that, had not Providence otherwise directed, the Greek standard would have floated in the spring on the ramparts of Epacto.

The population of Mesolonghi soon began to avail themselves of the advantages, the dispensary offered. These are so self-evident, that it becomes superfluous to enter into details; though they might, perhaps, prove satisfactory to the Society of Friends, who were the principal contributors to that charitable work. But having myself been, during thirteen months, director of that institution, my observations might be looked upon as incense, offered to my own exertions. My occupations, before the end of a fortnight, had become so numerous, as hardly to leave me a moment's repose. I was soon called into the houses of the principal citizens and primates; and had thus repeated opportunities of learning the Greek manners and customs; a description of some of which will, no doubt, interest the generality of readers more than medical remarks; as they are the real tests of the character and degree of civilization and morality of a nation.

What most raised my surprise, during my first visits, was to see, as soon as I entered a patient's room, all the unmarried girls instantly rise from their seats, and, with more agility than Diana's nymphs could display, on the appearance of Actæon, precipitate themselves into the neighbouring apartments. Where the patient had only one room, a curtain was purposely hung in one of its corners, to afford a hiding-place to the young women, on the arrival of a stranger. Nature is ever endeavouring to get the better of custom; and the ladies are no less fond of admiration in barbarous than in civilised

countries. I constantly observed, that when the girls were pretty, they never allowed the visitor to depart without satisfying his curiosity by some means or other. Every now and then, profiting of a moment when their parent's attention was otherwise employed, they would gently pop their heads above; and scarcely had they allowed one to cast a glance at their charms, than down they hid them again. The more coquettish would repeat this movement so often, as to afford ample opportunity of examining their features.

When a person falls ill, he is laid on a mattress, placed on the floor in the middle of the room. All his friends are bound to pay him a visit of condolence, and sit cross-legged on the divan, till they are replaced by others. If it be a primate, his room is so crowded, as rather to resemble a rout than a sick man's chamber. It was in vain that I remonstrated against the absurdity of this custom, and represented, that so numerous a concourse of people disturbed the patient's repose, corrupted the atmosphere of his room, and was the readiest mode of transmitting infectious diseases. Whenever on this or any other occasion, a new visitor of some consideration entered, sweetmeats and coffee were presented him by the mistress of the house, who remained before him, with her hands crossed, till he had sipped the contents of his cup. Women are, in this country, treated as servant maids; and indeed, considering the dirty and slovenly manner, in which their houses are kept, they would not, in England, be considered fit even for that situation. No less was the disappointment I experienced daily, on witnessing, more and more, the little consideration, in which females were held; having been led to form very different expectations on perusing Mr. Bla-

quiere's report; wherein he requests the committee "*truly* to inform the women of England, that those of Greece are more like themselves in all that constitutes female excellence, than any other women he could name." As far as physical qualities are considered, though highly exaggerated in favour of Greek females, the comparison might be pardoned; but in other respects, I must, in justice to my fair countrywomen, protest, that never was a more unwarranted assertion made; never a greater insult offered to their character.

It stands to reason, that the extreme difference in the mode of education must produce proportionate dissimilarity in the moral character. In what does the education of a Greek girl consist? During her infancy, she is taught the art of the loom, rearing silk-worms, needle-work, and the coarser household occupations. Reading and writing are looked upon as dangerous arts, and are not mentioned in her presence. The only religious notions, instilled into her heart, are, that crossing herself before her saint's image, and the observance of fasts, are sure guides to salvation. As soon as she approaches puberty, she is subjected to the closest confinement. The windows of her room are, like those of a dungeon, blocked up with grates and lattices. Nor is she allowed even to go to church. After much solicitation, should she prevail on her parents to permit her to breathe the open air, a moonlight night is chosen; and when every one else has retired to rest, the procession silently leaves the house. The male relations, armed from head to foot, compose the van-guard; the veiled virgin and her friends are in the centre; the mothers and vigilant old women bring up the rear.

The unceasing occupation of the parents is to procure, without delay, a husband for their daughter.

The bargain is concluded without either party knowing any thing about it; much less of each other; the taste, inclination, and interest of the relations only, being consulted in the choice. Often are two individuals betrothed, while yet in arms; and among the Suliots the mothers frequently change rings for the offspring they yet bear in their womb. An engagement of this kind is considered as sacred. In some cases, the disproportion of age between the bride and bridegroom strikes an European with horror. Children, hardly twelve years old, are given to men of forty. Far from this being uncommon, there exists in every church a stool, on which the bride is raised, so as to enable the priest to exchange rings, and the (στεφάνι) or matrimonial crowns, used in the nuptial ceremony. Thus the silly inexperienced girl is by her barbarous parents given to a man whose approach she cannot but dread. The remainder of this picture I shall fill up, by saying, that the marriage contract only leads the bride from one prison to another.

Though the absurdity of the system of female education, prevalent in Greece, may, in part, be attributed to the influence of Turkish manners, it is still more the effect of that habitual and innate jealousy, which is acknowledged to be one of the most marked features in the Greek character. At Hydra, in most of the islands of the Ægæan, in Maïna, and other places where a Musulman family never was established, women have ever been, and will, perhaps, for some generations, be kept under more tyrannical confinement than even in Turkish countries. Nothing can exceed the jealousy of a Hydriot; and it is much to be doubted, whether civilization and the contact of Europeans, will have more influence on them in this respect, than on the inhabitants of

Zante. In the Morea and Continental Greece, to save their daughters from the danger of being conveyed, if handsome, as recruits to harems, the parents were forced to conceal them, so as to make them, if possible, even forget their existence: and when arrived at an age, that rendered them capable of attracting the brutal notice of their tyrants, to procure them husbands without loss of time. A habit when once contracted, how absurd soever, can by degrees only be relinquished. Some time is required, after the removal of a cause, before the impulse it has given can completely cease. Hence the Mesolonghiots continue to observe the following custom, for which even the other Greeks load them with reproaches. Between the ceremonies of betrothal and marriage, too long an interval frequently passes, and the intimacy thus permitted has of late been attended with the most unfortunate consequences. A number of unmarried Suliots and depraved strangers, now at Mesolonghi, hastened to profit by this custom; but never having the intention of marrying, they had recourse to various pretences to delay the ceremony; and afterwards, at the opening of a campaign, left the deluded girls to expect in vain their return.

The remark, that low, damp situations are favourable to female beauty, while dry alpine regions give birth to the handsomest men, might, every day, be illustrated in this town. No men could present a more masculine, and finer appearance than the soldiers, that had come down with their capitani from the mountains of Agrapha, Carpenisi, and the skirts of Parnassus, &c. &c. while, it was a matter of surprise, for every stranger, how this unwholesome nest of impurities could be the birthplace of creatures, so strikingly beautiful as the females of Mesolonghi and

Anatolico. Nowhere can finer complexions be seen; larger or more languishing black eyes; more perfect models of beauty. But their taste was quite gothic. A more unsightly costume could not be worn; and the practice of painting faces, eyebrows, hair, and nails was, unfortunately, too prevalent among them. But what appeared yet more ridiculous to an Englishman was, that, while the men were dressed with *foustanellas*, the women wore trowsers. Their feet and ankles, which, by the by, rather correspond to Grecian than to modern ideas of beauty, are completely hid by the folds of these trowsers, that are tied like a purse just below the knee. This gives a woman, when walking, completely the appearance of a feathered-paw pigeon. This is the more striking, as Grecian coquettes affect as much as possible to imitate the walk of a bird. "You walk like a goose," "like a duck," (σάν χήνα, σὰν παπὶ περιπατεὶς) however impertinent in the ear of an English belle, are the most flattering compliments, that can be whispered in those of a Greek one.

Beauty which, like a flower, every where fades so soon, is, in the Levant, of ephemeral duration. Scarcely is it blown, but it withers. The custom of marrying at an age before the body has acquired that maturity of strength, which enables it to bear the vicissitudes incident to a state of marriage; the sedentary manner in which they pass the earlier periods of life; and the enervating warmth of their climate, are, no doubt, the causes of this decay. The loss of freshness, and the change of the features are so rapid, that at five-and-twenty, and very frequently even before that period, few women are recognizable; and nowhere can more "grim-visaged hags" be seen than in Greece.

CHAPTER XII.

A Greek polyglott newspaper established—Anecdotes of Lord Byron—Character of Parry—Lord Byron seized with illness.

EARLY in March, the prospectus of a polyglott newspaper, entitled the *Greek Telegraph*, was published at Mesolonghi. The sentiments, imprudently advocated in this prospectus, induced the authorities in the Ionian Islands to entertain so unfavourable an impression of the spirit, which would guide its conductors, that its admission into the heptarchy was interdicted under severe penalties. The same took place in the Austrian states, where they began to look upon Greece as "the city of refuge," as it were, for the carbonari and discontented English reformers. The first number appeared on the 20th of March; but it was written in a tone so decidedly opposite to what had been expected, that it might, in some degree, be considered as a protest against the prospectus. Lord Byron was the cause of this change. More than ever convinced, that nothing could be more useless, and even more dangerous to her yet vacillating interests at home and abroad, than an unlimited freedom of the press; he insisted on Count Gamba (a person entirely at his disposal), becoming editor. He cautioned him, to restrict the Telegrafo Greco to a simple narrative of events as they occurred, and an unprejudiced statement of opinions in respect to her political relations and wants; so as to make them subjects of interest to her friends in the western parts of Europe.

Nothing was easier to every one, who wished to

inveigh against the Holy Alliance, than to have recourse to the ever-open channel of English papers. It was easy to foresee, that, if properly conducted, this paper would immediately supplant the Ἑλληνικα Χρονικα, which, being written in Romaic, could enjoy but a very limited circulation in Europe. Uncertain what motto to adopt, the editor consulted Lord Byron. But he did so at an unfavourable moment, for his lordship had just exchanged some angry words with a Greek. "Although," replied he, "I am looked upon as a being altogether unscriptural, I shall propose to you a text from scripture for your motto. You will read in the tenth chapter of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans, '*Between Greeks and Jews there is here no difference.*'" But the observation being made, that, even if this were the actual truth, yet every truth ought not to be told, his lordship added, after a moment's pause: "You are perhaps in the right; let us see, therefore, whether these lines from Homer will suit?

Ἡμισυ γάρ τ' αρετῆς ἀποάινυται ἐυρυόπα Ζεὺς
Ἀνέρος, ἔυτ' ἄν μιν κατὰ δούλιον ἦμαρ ἕλησιν."

Spleen, which is said to have taken up her residence in "foggy England," might, during the winter, find at Mesolonghi a climate still more suited to her character. The rain falls in torrents almost every day; and in the intervals of sunshine, the streets and roads are so covered with water and mud, that it is equally impossible to ride as to walk. Lord Byron suffered greatly from the confinement, this circumstance forced upon him. Accustomed, as he had been for years, to ride out once every day, the habit had so much grown upon him, that if prevented for several days from doing so, he felt so uncomfortable

as to become peevish and morose. He would, however, recur to other bodily exercises; in all of which he displayed great strength and considerable address. As his lameness prevented him from leaping, running, or indulging in field sports, he was compelled to cultivate other branches of gymnastics; and of these he excelled in fencing, boxing, single-stick, the Highland broadsword; and every one knows how excellent a swimmer he became. Indeed some of his feats in this way may appear almost incredible. While at Genoa, for instance, he swam, as I have heard him relate, to an English man-of-war, anchored in the roads. Having said "good morning" to the commander, he requested the favour of a cup of tea, which he drank, all the while treading the water. Having drank the tea, he returned the cup, and then swam back to shore; more than two miles distant!

He boasted that there was not a better shot with a pistol in all England than himself. Indeed his skill in this way was remarkable; for though his hand shook considerably, he fired with astonishing precision. While at Mesolonghi, he broke six eggs, placed on the ground, one after the other, at the distance of twenty-five paces. On another occasion he put out a taper three times in four shots. He related, too, that he once challenged a gentleman, who was considered as the best marksman in London. The latter fired first and hit the mark. Lord Byron then fired and his ball passed through the very hole pierced by his rival, who was then forced to acknowledge that he had at last found his equal. His pistols were Manton's *chef-d'œuvre.*

In the evening all the English, who had not, with Colonel Stanhope, turned Odysseans, assembled at his house; and till late at night enjoyed the charm of his conversation. His character so much differed

from what I had been induced to imagine from the relations of travellers, that either their reports must have been inaccurate, or his character must have totally changed after his departure from Genoa. It would be difficult, indeed impossible, to convey an idea of the pleasure his conversation afforded. Among his works, that which may perhaps be more particularly regarded as exhibiting the mirror of his conversation and the spirit which animated it, is Don Juan. The following lines, too, from Shakspeare seem as if prophetically written for him:

> "Biron they call him; but a merrier man,
> Within the limits of becoming mirth,
> I never spent an hour's talk withal.
> His eye begets occasion for his wit;
> For every object, that the one does catch,
> The other turns to a mirth-moving jest,
> Which his fair tongue (conceit's expositor)
> Delivers in such apt and gracious words,
> That aged ears play truant at his tales,
> And younger hearings are quite ravished;
> So sweet and voluble is his discourse."

One of these lines (the second) was not strictly applicable to his practice; for he might too justly be reproached with being too open and too indiscreet in respect to the reminiscences of his early days. The respect I owe to his memory, as well as to that of his friends, forbids me to relate many of these anecdotes; however entertaining they might prove to the curiosity of the *salons*.

Sometimes, when his vein of humour flowed more copiously than usual, he would play tricks on individuals. Fletcher's boundless credulity afforded him an ever ready fund of amusement, and he one evening planned a farce, which was as well executed and as laughable as any ever exhibited on the stage.

Having observed how nervous Parry had been, a few days before, during an earthquake, he felt desirous of renewing the ludicrous sight which the fat horror-struck figure of the major had exhibited on that occasion. He placed therefore fifty of his Suliots in the room above that where Parry slept, and towards midnight ordered them to shake the house, so as to imitate that phenomenon; he himself at the same time banged the doors, and rushed down stairs, delighted to see the almost distracted engineer imploring, tremblingly, the mercy of heaven. Parry was altogether a "curious fish," an excellent mimic; and possessed a fund of quaint expressions, that made up for his deficiency of real wit. He could tell, in his coarse language, a good story, could perform the clown's or Falstaff's part very naturally, rant Richard the Third's or Hamlet's soliloquies in a mock-tragic manner, unrivalled by any of the players of Bartholomew fair, and could always engender laughter enough to beguile the length of our rainy evenings. His description of the visit he paid to Bentham; their walk; Bentham's pursuit by a lady, named City-Barge, was highly humorous, and pleased Lord Byron so much, that he purposed putting it in verse, like that of Gilpin's trip to Edmonton.

It was soon perceived, that the brandy-bottle was Parry's Castalian spring, and that, unless he drank deep, his stories became dull. Lord Byron, in consequence, took constant care to keep him in good spirits; but unfortunately, partly from inclination, and partly to keep him company, he drank himself to the same excess. One evening, by way of driving away the vexation he had experienced during the day, from an altercation with some one, whose name I do not now remember, Parry prescribed some punch of his own composition, so agreeable to Lord Byron's

palate, that he drank immoderate quantities of it. To remove the burning sensation his lordship, soon after, began to experience, he ordered a bottle of cider; and having drank a glass of it, he said it was "excessively cold and pleasant." Scarcely had he said these words when he fell upon the floor, agitated by violent spasmodic movements of all his limbs. He foamed at the mouth, gnashed his teeth, and rolled his eyes like one in an epilepsy. After remaining about two minutes in this state his senses returned, and the first words he uttered were: "Is not this Sunday?" On being answered in the affirmative, he said; "I should have thought it most strange if it were not."

Doctor Bruno, his private physician, proposed opening a vein; but finding it impossible to obtain his consent, he applied leeches to the temples, which bled so copiously as almost to bring on syncope. Alarmed to see the difficulty Doctor Bruno experienced in endeavouring to stop the hemorrhage, Lord Byron sent for me, and I succeeded in stopping the bleeding by the application of lunar caustic. The acute pain, produced by this slight operation, rendered him more than ever impatient, and made him say, "In this world there is nothing but pain."

The nervous system of Lord Byron, which by nature was highly irritable, and which had become more so by the immoderate use of green tea, the abuse of medicines, and habitual intemperance, could not sustain so violent a shock without some serious attendant consequences. Like a cord at its full stretch, it required but the slightest force to break it. From this moment a change took place in his mental and bodily functions. That wonderful elasticity of disposition, that continued flow of wit, and that facility of jest, by which his conversation had been so highly

distinguished, returned only at distant intervals; for he fell into a state of melancholy, from which none of our reasonings could relieve him. He felt assured that his constitution had been irretrievably ruined by intemperance; that he was a worn-out man; and that his muscular power was gone. Flashes before the eyes, palpitations and anxieties, hourly afflicted him; and at times such a sense of faintness would overpower him, that, fearing to be attacked by similar convulsions, he would send in great haste for medical assistance. His nervous system was in fact in a continued state of erethism, which could only be augmented by the low debilitating diet, enjoined him by his physician. One day while I sat by him rather longer than usual, endeavouring to prove that by a total reform in his mode of living, and by following a tonic plan, he might recover his former vigour, I quoted, in support of my argument, the celebrated example of Cornaro the Venetian, who at a more advanced age, and with a constitution still more broken, not only recovered his strength by adopting a proper regimen, but continued beyond the hundredth year in the full possession of all his mental and bodily faculties. "Do you suppose," inquired his lordship with impatience, "that I wish for life? I have grown heartily sick of it, and shall welcome the hour I depart from it. Why should I regret it? can it afford me any pleasure? have I not enjoyed it to a surfeit? Few men can live faster than I did. I am, literally speaking, a young old man. Hardly arrived at manhood, I had attained the zenith of fame. Pleasure I have known under every form it can present itself to mortals. I have travelled, satisfied my curiosity, lost every illusion; I have exhausted all the nectar contained in the cup of life; it is time to throw the dregs away. But the apprehension of two things

now haunt my mind. I picture myself slowly expiring on a bed of torture, or terminating my days like Swift—a grinning idiot! Would to Heaven the day were arrived in which, rushing, sword in hand, on a body of Turks, and fighting like one weary of existence, I shall meet immediate, painless death,—the object of my wishes!"

CHAPTER XIII.

A Turkish brig runs on a sand-bank—Conduct of Parry—Conduct and trial of Caraiscachi.

Two days after the unfortunate accident, I have described, an event took place, which contributed in no small degree to destroy the illusion under which Lord Byron had laboured in respect to the major of artillery. A Turkish brig, returning to Patras, ran foul of the bank of sand which extends from the mouth of the Phidari several miles out to sea. Remembering the immense booty, which, but a year before, they had made on taking possession of a Turkish ship, which adverse winds and the pilot's ignorance had brought to the same spot, the Mesolonghiots thanked fortune for thus supplying them with a new occasion of satisfying their avidity and cruelty. The whole population embarked in an instant; the smallest *monoxylo* was at sea; but, on their approaching the vessel, the enemy offered so lively a resistance, that they despaired of succeeding without the assistance of artillery. The spark of enthusiasm had equally fired the young soldier and the elderly primate. Every one wished to have a share in the golden fleece. Mavrocordato ordered the major to proceed in all haste, with three guns, to assist in the attack of the brig; but this could not of course take place without a previous visit to Lord Byron, who still found himself so weak, as to be unable to rise from his sofa; but on Parry's entering

the room, he reassumed his former liveliness, and accosted him in the following manner: "'Now's the day and now's the hour;' now for your rockets, your fire-kites, and red-hot shots; now, Parry, for your Grecian fires. 'Onward, death or victory!'" But in the meantime all the necessary preparations were neglected, and the whole alarm ended in the most absolute disappointment. The Mesolonghiots returned the next day, after a fruitless attempt, and the Turks, after embarking in a boat, during the night, the most precious part of their effects, sailed to Patras, having previously set fire to their ship.

On the first of April, the whole town of Mesolonghi was thrown into the liveliest alarm by the following events. Caraiscachi's nephew had been seriously wounded in a quarrel with some Mesolonghiot boatmen, whom he wished to oblige to convey him, gratis, to Anatolico. Incensed at the affront offered to his nephew, and resolved on obtaining satisfaction, Caraiscachi despatched a hundred and fifty of his soldiers more effectually to solicit it. Finding, that the men, who had inflicted the wound, had absconded, the soldiers apprehended, during the night, two of the Mesolonghi primates, and immediately sent them to their capitano at Anatolico. Thinking that guarantee insufficient, Caraiscachi ordered fifty of his men to take possession of Vasiladi. This they easily did, as the whole *garrison* of this important point consisted of only half a dozen fishermen: and those asleep. Next morning they sent these men to Mesolonghi, to inform the townsmen, that Caraiscachi declared, he would neither give up the island nor the primates, till the men, who had wounded his nephew, were delivered into his hands.

The very same day seven Turkish vessels were seen sailing out of the gulf; and, shortly after, anchoring off Vasiladi; and information arrived, that the garrison of the castle of Roumelia had had a sharp engagement with the Greeks at the pass of Kaki Scala, a little further than Galata. Mavrocordato, who suspected a correspondence between Caraiscachi and the enemy, gave orders for the apprehension of Costa Vulpiotti; a Greek, who, on his arrival from Janina, had instantly repaired to the house of Caraiscachi, and had since, almost daily, had secret conferences with him. Several letters were found on his person, that had been addressed by Mavrocordato and other patriots to Caraiscachi, reproaching him for his treachery and connivance with the enemy. These Vulpiotti was to show to Omer Pasha, as certificates to prove how faithful Caraiscachi had ever been to his engagements with him. It resulted from the interrogation, Vulpiotti underwent, that he had been charged to ask Omer Pasha for a *Bouyourtè*, appointing him capitano of the province of Agrapha. Caraiscachi engaged, in return, to co-operate with Vernakiotti in the reduction of Western Greece, and to draw over to his party several of the chiefs, that had hitherto most faithfully adhered to the interests of the Greek government.

Although no evidence existed, that he had carried on a similar correspondence with Youssouf Pasha; yet as every thing tended to prove him capable of so doing, Mavrocordato participated in the general apprehensions; and saw, in the movements of the enemy and the taking of Vasiladi, the denouement of a conspiracy against Western Greece. He expected, every moment, to hear, that the Turks had taken possession of the above-mentioned island, and asserted that

the soldiers, which Caraiscachi had sent to Mesolonghi, came with no other intention but to open the gates of the town to the enemy, who fortunately met a sufficient resistance at Kaki Scala. He felt the more alarmed, as he knew not how to act, at one and the same time, against an interior and an exterior enemy. All the disposable troops were in the provinces; the Suliots under the Bozzaris were on their way to Arta; those, that had remained at Anatolico with the Zavellas, had attached themselves to the interests of Caraiscachi. Mavrocordato recollected, also, how much this capitano's resentment against the government had been exasperated by the conduct of the late general assembly towards him; and that, regardless of its decision prohibiting him to command more than one hundred men, upwards of five hundred chosen soldiers were at this moment at Carpenisi, waiting for his orders; while at Anatolico he had enlisted three hundred more.

Lord Byron endeavoured to conceal the indignation, which this treacherous action could not but excite. He urged Mavrocordato not to fear, but instantly to display all possible energy to defeat the designs of the rebel chief. He offered his own personal assistance, that of the artillery brigade, and of the three hundred Suliots on this service, and trusted that the severest martial laws would inflict the punishment due to such crimes. Gun-boats were sent against Vasiladi in order to dislodge the rebels. Their approach so much intimidated them, that they precipitately abandoned the island; where, even if more resolute, they could not long have defended themselves, as it was totally unprovided with water. The batteries of Mesolonghi were secured by the brigade and inhabitants, and several of their guns were pointed towards the town to prevent Caraiscachi's

soldiers attempting to possess themselves of it. The latter were so terrified by the imposing attitude, assumed by the Mesolonghiots, that they hastened to give up the primates, and esteemed themselves fortunate in being allowed to embark, unmolested, for Anatolico.

As soon as Mavrocordato was informed of the arrival of the troops, he repaired to the town and appointed a military commission to judge Caraiscachi. It consisted of Nothi Bozzari, Stornari, Zonga, Dimo Scalza, Vlachopoulo, Demetri Macri, Coldari, Liacatà, Carajani, and Catzarò. These judges declared him an enemy to his country and a traitor; yet the only punishment, they awarded, was,—leaving Anatolico.

Although Caraiscachi was found guilty, yet many of the accusations, laid to his charge, subsequent reflection has demonstrated to be unfounded. That he proposed delivering up Vasiladi and Mesolonghi to the enemy was a mere supposition; unwarranted by any positive proof. The coincidence of the Turkish vessels sailing out of the gulf could be attributed only to chance, for they were accustomed to do so almost every fortnight. Besides, had they attempted to communicate with Vasiladi, or made signals, &c.? The garrison of Epacto and the castle made daily sorties, having no other object in view than obtaining sheep, cattle, &c. The two hundred Turks, who were repulsed at the Scala, formed too inconsiderable a force ever to venture on such an undertaking. Besides, I afterwards learned from Dr. Sibbert (who, during four years after the beginning of the Greek revolution, was Youssouf Pasha's physician), that this Osmanlee never corresponded either with Caraiscachi or any other Greek. I think it a duty to state these circumstances, in order to remove the stain, with which

many persons have disfigured the noble character of Citzo Zavella and the Suliots who, at first, sided with Caraiscachi. Incapable of treason, if they embraced his party, they were led to do so, from the opinion, that it was proper he should obtain satisfaction for the conduct of the Mesolonghiots towards his nephew. They were besides happy, no doubt, to embrace an opportunity of revenging themselves on those individuals, since they had but too much reason to complain of their inhospitality and insolence.

The volcanic mind of Lord Byron, as before observed, was thrown by these events into a violent state of commotion. He had come to Greece prepared to devote his wealth, talents, and even life itself to the consolidation of her liberties. Aware, how wofully the character of the nation had been corrupted; first, by the most profligate, and afterwards, by the most barbarous of governments, he expected, as a natural and inevitable result, that their proceedings would bear the stamp of their moral degradation. But he was not prepared to meet with black-hearted treachery; or to see Greeks themselves conspiring against their own country; courting the chains of their former masters; and bargaining the liberties and very existence of their own brethren. Ignorant, at first, how far the ramifications of this conspiracy might extend, he trembled while thinking of the consequences. Personal fear did not, however, occupy his mind; although most of the Suliots who composed his guard, being friends with the Zavellas, had, as soon as they heard, that they sided with Caraiscachi, declared openly that they would not act against their countrymen. The hopes, he had formed, for the prosperity of Greece were for a moment obscured; he feared lest the news of a civil war in the Peloponnesus, and of a con-

spiracy to introduce the Turks into Western Greece, would, on reaching England, ruin the Greek credit, and preclude all hopes of obtaining a loan, which to him appeared indispensable to the salvation of her liberty. But what incensed him most, was the weakness and irresolution, exhibited on this occasion by Mavrocordato in respect to Caraiscachi. If he considered the infliction of capital punishment, incurred by Caraiscachi, as unadvisable, and impolitic in the actual state of the country, could he not at least have placed under confinement a person, who, it was easy to anticipate, would profit by his liberty to execute his sinister intentions, and be the more inexorable in his revenge, when he recollected, that his escape was to be attributed to the pusillanimity rather than to the generosity of his enemies? The consequences were soon observable; for as soon as Caraiscachi recovered sufficient strength, to be able to bear the fatigue of a litter, he placed himself at the head of his followers, and assisted by Andrea Isco, of Macrinoro, he again made Agrapha and its adjoining provinces the scene of his depredations and daily bloody encounters. The removal of his friend, Omer Pasha, from Janina to Salonica, however, fortunately proved the ruin of his evil designs.

CHAPTER XIV.

Illness, and death of Lord Byron—Conduct of his physicians.

At no time of his life did Lord Byron find himself in circumstances, more calculated to render him unhappy. The cup of health had dropped from his lips, and constant anxiety and suffering operated powerfully on his mind, already a prey to melancholy apprehensions, and disappointment, increased by disgust. Continually haunted by a dread of epilepsy or palsy—complaints most humiliating to human pride —he fell into the lowest state of hypochondriasis, and vented his sorrows in language which, though sometimes sublime, was at others as peevish and capricious, as that of an unruly and quarrelsome child. When he returned to himself, however, he would request us "not to take the indisposed and sickly fit for the sound man."

Riding was the only occupation that procured him any relief; and even this was but momentary. On the 9th of April, prolonging his ride further than usual, he was on his return caught in a shower, and remaining exposed to it for more than an hour, he complained in the evening of shooting pains in his hips and loins; but he found himself, the next morning, sufficiently well to ride out for a short time. On his return, however, he scolded his groom severely, for having placed on the horse the same wet saddle he had used on the preceding day.

Mr. Finlay (then a staunch Odyssean), had been deputed to engage Lord Byron to assist at the congress at Salona. This gentleman and myself called upon him in the evening; when we found him lying on a sofa, complaining of a slight fever and of pains in the articulation. He was at first more gay than usual; but, on a sudden, he became pensive, and after remaining some few minutes in silence, he said that during the whole day he had reflected a great deal on a prediction, which had been made to him, when a boy, by a famed fortune-teller in Scotland. His mother, who firmly believed in cheromancy and astrology, had sent for this person, and desired him to inform her what would be the future destiny of her son. Having examined attentively the palm of his hand, the man looked at him for a while stedfastly, and then with a solemn voice, exclaimed; "Beware of your thirty-seventh year, my young lord; beware."

He had entered on his thirty-seventh year on the 22d of January: and it was evident from the emotion with which he related this circumstance, that the caution of the palmist had produced a deep impression on his mind, which in many respects was so superstitious, that we thought proper to accuse him of superstition:—"To say the truth," answered his lordship, "I find it equally difficult to know what to believe in this world, and what not to believe. There are as many plausible reasons for inducing me to die a bigot, as there have been to make me hitherto live a freethinker. You will, I know, ridicule my belief in lucky and unlucky days; but no consideration can now induce me to undertake any thing either on a Friday or a Sunday. I am positive it would terminate unfortunately. Every one of my misfortunes, and, God knows, I have had my share, have hap-

pened to me on one of those days. You will ridicule, also, a belief in incorporeal beings. Without instancing to you the men of profound genius, who have acknowledged their existence, I could give you the details of my friend Shelley's conversations with his familiar. Did he not apprize me, that he had been informed by that familiar, that he would end his life by drowning; and did I not, a short time after, perform, on the sea beach, his funeral rites?"

Considering myself, on this occasion, not a medical man, but a visitor; and being questioned neither by his physician nor himself, I did not even feel Lord Byron's pulse. I was informed, next morning, that during the night he had taken diaphoretic infusions, and that he felt himself better. The next day Dr. Bruno administered a purgative, and kept up its effects by a solution of cream of tartar, which the Italians call "Imperial lemonade." In the evening the fever augmented, and as on the 14th, although the pains in the articulations had diminished, the feverish symptoms were equally strong, Dr. Bruno strongly recommended him to be blooded; but as the patient entertained a deep-rooted prejudice against bleeding, his physician could obtain no influence whatever over him, and his lordship obstinately persevered in refusing to submit to the operation.

On the 15th, towards noon, Fletcher called upon me, and informed me, that his master desired to see me, in order to consult with Dr. Bruno on the state of his health. Dr. Bruno informed me that his patient laboured under a rheumatic fever, that, as at first, the symptoms had been of a mild character, he had trusted chiefly to sudorifics; but during the last two days, the fever had so much increased, that he had repeatedly proposed bleeding, but that he could

not overcome his lordship's antipathy to that mode of treatment. Convinced, by an examination of the patient, that bleeding was absolutely necessary, I endeavoured, as mildly and as gently as possible, to persuade him; but, in spite of all my caution, his temper was so morbidly irritable, that he refused in a manner excessively peevish. He observed that, of all his prejudices, the strongest was against phlebotomy. His mother had on her death-bed obtained from him a promise never to consent to being bled; and that whatever we might say, his aversion was stronger than any reason we could give. "Besides," said his lordship, "does not Dr. Reid observe, in his Essays, that less slaughter has been effected by the warrior's lance than by the physician's lancet? It is, in fact, a minute instrument of mighty mischief." On my observing, that this remark related to the treatment of nervous disorders, not of inflammatory ones, he angrily replied: "Who is nervous, if I am not? Do not these words, besides, apply to my case? Drawing blood from a nervous patient is like loosening the chords of a musical instrument, the tones of which are already defective for want of sufficient tension. Before I became ill, you know yourself how weak and irritable I had become. Bleeding, by increasing this state, will inevitably kill me. Do with me whatever else you please, but bleed me you shall not. I have had several inflammatory fevers during my life, and at an age when I was much more robust and plethoric than I am now; yet I got through them without bleeding. This time, also, I will take my chance."

After much reasoning and entreaty, however, I at length succeeded in obtaining a promise, that, should his fever increase at night, he would allow Bruno to bleed him. Happy to inform the doctor of this partial

victory, I left the room, and with a view of lowering the impetus of the circulating system, and determining to the skin, I recommended the administration of an ounce of a solution of half a grain of tartarized antimony and two drachms of nitre in twelve ounces of water.

Early the next morning I called on the patient, who told me, that having passed a better night than he had expected, he had not requested Dr. Bruno to bleed him. Chagrined at this, I laid aside all consideration for his feelings, and solemnly assured him how deeply I lamented to see him trifle with his life in this manner. I told him, that his pertinacious refusal to be bled had caused a precious opportunity to be lost; that a few hours of hope yet remained; but that unless he would submit immediately to be bled, neither Dr. Bruno nor myself could answer for the consequences. He might not care for life, it was true; but who could assure him, unless he changed his resolution, the disease might not operate such disorganization in his cerebral and nervous system as entirely to deprive him of his reason. I had now touched the sensible chord; for, partly annoyed by our unceasing importunities, and partly convinced, casting at us both the fiercest glance of vexation, he threw out his arm, and said, in the most angry tone: "Come; you are, I see, a d—d set of butchers. Take away as much blood as you will; but have done with it."

We seized the moment, and drew about twenty ounces. On coagulating, the blood presented a strong buffy coat. Yet the relief, obtained, did not correspond to the hopes we had anticipated; and during the night the fever became stronger than it had been hitherto. The restlessness and agitation increased,

and the patient spoke several times in an incoherent manner. The next morning (17th) the bleeding was repeated; for although the rheumatic symptoms had completely disappeared, the cerebral ones were hourly increasing, and this continuing all day, we opened the vein, for the third time, in the afternoon. Cold applications were from the beginning constantly kept on the head; blisters were also proposed. When on the point of applying them, Lord Byron asked me whether it would answer the same purpose to apply both on the same leg. Guessing the motive that led him to ask this question, I told him I would place them above the knees, on the inside of the thighs. "Do so," said he, "for as long as I live, I will not allow any one to see my lame foot."

In spite of our endeavours, the danger hourly increased; the different signs of strong nervous affection succeeded each other with surprising rapidity; twitchings and involuntary motions of the tendons began to manifest themselves during the night; and, more frequently than before, the patient muttered to himself and talked incoherently.

In the morning (18th) a consultation was proposed, to which Dr. Lucca Vaga and Dr. Freiber, my assistant, were invited. Our opinions were divided. Bruno and Lucca proposed having recourse to antispasmodics and other remedies, employed in the last stage of typhus. Freiber and I maintained that such remedies could only hasten the fatal termination; that nothing could be more empirical than flying from one extreme to the other; that if, as we all thought, the complaint was owing to the metastasis of rheumatic inflammation, the existing symptoms only depended on the rapid and extensive progress, it had made in an organ, previously so weakened and

irritable. Antiphlogistic means could never prove hurtful in this case; they would become useless only if disorganization were already operated; but then, when all hopes were fled, what means would not prove superfluous?

We recommended the application of numerous leeches to the temples, behind the ears, and along the course of the jugular vein a large blister between the shoulders, and sinapisms to the feet. These we considered to be the only means likely to succeed. Dr. Bruno, however, being the patient's physician, had, of course, the casting vote, and he prepared, in consequence, the antispasmodic potion, which he and Dr. Lucca had agreed upon. It was a strong infusion of valerian with ether, &c. After its administration, the convulsive movements and the delirium increased; yet, notwithstanding my earnest representations, a second dose was administered half an hour after: when, after articulating confusedly a few broken phrases, our patient sunk into a comatose sleep, which the next day terminated in death.

Lord Byron expired on the 19th of April, at six o'clock in the afternoon. Interesting as every circumstance, relative to the death of so celebrated a person, may prove to some; I should, nevertheless, have hesitated in obtruding so much medical detail on the patience of the reader, had not the accounts, published by Dr. Bruno in the Westminster Review, and many of the newspapers, rendered it necessary that I should disabuse the friends of the deceased; and, at the same time, vindicate my own professional character, on which the imputation has been laid of my having been the cause of Lord Byron's death, by putting off, during four successive days, the operation of bleeding.

The only reasons which, as far as I am able to judge, can have induced Dr. Bruno to publish these extraordinary statements, on his arrival in England, must have been his belief in the report of my death, which, before his departure from Zante, had been circulated. No doubt, he thought that he might, with impunity, sacrifice the reputation of one, who, being dead, could not refute him. He, doubtless, thought, too, that he might sacrifice the feelings of Lord Byron's relations, at the shrine of his own vanity and interest.

I must first observe, that not knowing a syllable of English, although present at the conversation I had with Lord Byron, Dr. Bruno could neither understand the force of the language, I employed to surmount his lordship's deep-rooted prejudice and aversion for bleeding, nor the positive refusals, he repeatedly made before I could obtain his promise to consent to the operation. Yet he boldly states, that I spoke to Lord Byron, in a very undecided manner, of the benefits of such an operation: and that I even ventured to recommend procrastination: and these, he says, are the reasons, that induced him to consent to the delay; as if he were himself indifferent to such treatment; or as if a few words from me were sufficient to determine him! Conduct like this, it is not difficult to appreciate: I shall, therefore, forbear abandoning myself to the indignation, such a falsehood might naturally excite; nor shall I repel his unwarrantable accusation, by relating the causes of that deep-rooted jealousy, which Dr. Bruno entertained against me, from the day he perceived the preference, which Lord Byron indicated in favour of English physicians. This narrow-minded, envious feeling, as I could prove, prevented him from

insisting on immediately calling me, or other medical men at Mesolonghi, to a consultation. Had he done so, he would have exonerated himself from every responsibility; but his vanity made him forget the duty he owed to his patient, and even to himself. For I did not see Lord Byron (medically) till I was sent for by his lordship himself, without any participation on the part of Dr. Bruno.

I can refute Dr. Bruno's calumnies not only from the testimony of others, but even from his own. For the following extract from the article, published in the *Telegrafo Greco*, announcing the death of Lord Byron, was, at the request of Count Gamba (himself a witness of whatever took place during the fatal illness of his friend), composed by the doctor. "Notwithstanding the most urgent entreaties, and representations of the imminent danger, attending his complaint made to him from the onset of his illness, both by his private physician and the medical man, sent by the Greek Committee, it was impossible to surmount the great aversion and prejudice, he entertained against bleeding, although he lay under imperious want of it."—*Vide Telegrafo Greco, il di 24 Aprile*, 1824.

The Editor of the Greek Chronicle also, Dr. Meyer (a medical man, and no friend of mine), who was minutely informed of the whole treatment, published the following notice. "We are not aware what could induce Lord Byron not to yield to the repeated entreaties made to him by Dr. Bruno, and Mr. T. Millingen, a medical man sent out by the Greek Committee, to allow himself to be bled."—(*Vide* Ap. 29.) Were not these testimonies amply sufficient, I might publish a letter from Dr. Freiber, in which he alludes, in the strongest terms, to Dr. Bruno's

ungentlemanly conduct towards me, and his total disregard to truth.

As to the assertion, confidently made by Dr. Bruno, that, had his patient submitted at the onset of his malady to phlebotomy, he would have infallibly recovered; I believe every medical man, who maturely considers the subject, will be led to esteem this assertion as being founded rather on presumption than on reason. Positive language, which is in general so misplaced in medical science, becomes in the present case even ridiculous; for if different authors be consulted, it will appear that the very remedy, which is proclaimed by some as the anchor of salvation, is by others condemned as the instrument of ruin. Bleeding (as many will be found to assert) favours metastasis in rheumatic fevers; and, in confirmation of this opinion, they will remark, that in this case, as soon as the lancet was employed, the cerebral symptoms manifested themselves on the disappearance of the rheumatic; while those, who incline to Dr. Reid's and Dr. Heberden's opinion, will observe, that after each successive phlebotomy, the cerebral symptoms not only did not remain at the same degree, but that they hourly went on increasing. In this dilemmatic position, it is evident, that whatever treatment might have been adopted, detractors could not fail to have some grounds for laying the blame on the medical attendants. The more I consider this difficult question, however, the more I feel convinced, that whatsoever method of cure had been adopted, there is every reason to believe, that a fatal termination was inevitable; and here I may be permitted to observe, that it must have been the lot of every medical man to observe, how frequently the fear of death produces it; and how seldom a patient, who

persuades himself that he must die, is mistaken. The prediction of the Scotch fortune-teller was ever present to Lord Byron; and, like an insidious poison, destroyed that moral energy, which is so useful to keep up the patient in dangerous complaints. "Did I not tell you," said he repeatedly to me, "that I should die at thirty-seven?"

CHAPTER XV.

Anecdotes of Lord Byron during his last illness—Post mortem appearances.

During the last days of Lord Byron's illness, he was remarkably taciturn; but his mind was occupied by anxious thoughts. He had made his will before his departure from Genoa; the only legacy, which he made during his illness, was to Lucca, to whom he gave the receipt by which the Mesolonghiots engaged themselves, to pay, on the arrival of the loan, the two thousand dollars, which had been lent them by Lord Byron to enable them to pay the arrears of the discontented Suliots. He recommended Lucca to send this sum to his mother; a paralytic widow, who had fled from Patras to Ithaca with her daughters and son. Lord Byron, hearing of their miseries, had, on his visit to that island, taken the whole family under his protection. In respect to his servants, he informed them, that he had recommended them all to his executors.

I was not a little surprised to hear him ask me on the 15th, whether I could not do him the favour of inquiring in the town for any very old and ugly witch? As I turned his question in derision, he repeated to me with a serious air; "Never mind whether I am superstitious or not; but I again entreat of you to bring me the most celebrated one there is, in order that she may examine whether this sudden

loss of my health does not depend on the evil eye. She may devise some means to dissolve the spell."

Knowing the necessity of indulging a patient in his harmless caprices, I soon procured one, who answered exactly to his description. But the following day, seeing that he did not mention the subject, I avoided recalling it to his memory. It is in the Levant an almost universal practice, as soon as a person falls ill, to have recourse, in the first instance, to one of these professed exorcisers. If their art does not succeed in restoring the patient to health by destroying the power of fascination, then the medical man is called in. But without this previous preparation, none of his medicines are supposed to be capable of curing the complaint.

Two thoughts constantly occupied his mind. Ada and Greece were the names, he hourly repeated. The broken complaints he uttered, lamenting to die a stranger to the sole daughter of his affection, not only far from her embrace, but perhaps the object of the hatred, which he thought had been carefully instilled into her from her tenderest infancy, showed how exquisitely his parental feelings were excited by these sad considerations. The glory of dying in Greece, and for Greece, was the only theme he could fly to for relief, and which would dry up the tears, he abundantly shed, when pronouncing Ada's name. In the agony of death,—that dreadful hour when, leaving the confines of life, the soul is launched into eternity—his parting look, his last adieu, was to Greece and Ada. I was present when, after taking the first antispasmodic mixture, he spoke to Fletcher for the last time, recommending him to call on his sister, on Lady Byron and his daughter, and deliver to each the messages, which he had repeated to him before.

His feelings, and the clouds of death, which were fast obscuring his intellect, did not allow him to continue: "You know what you must say to Ada;—I have already told it you; you know it, do you not?" On hearing Fletcher's affirmative, he replied, "that's right."

On the 18th he addressed me, saying: "Your efforts to preserve my life will be vain. Die I must: I feel it. Its loss I do not lament; for to terminate my wearisome existence I came to Greece.—My wealth, my abilities, I devoted to her cause.—Well: there is my life to her. One request let me make to you. Let not my body be hacked, or be sent to England. Here let my bones moulder.—Lay me in the first corner without pomp or nonsense."

After his death I informed Count Gamba of Lord Byron's dying request; and at the same time urged the imperious obligation, he was under, of executing it with religious punctuality. The count replied, that a great man belonged to his country; and that it would be a sacrilege to leave his remains in a place, where they might, one day, become the sport of insulting barbarians. He desired us to embalm the body carefully; his last duty to his friend would be performed when he had deposited his body in the same vault, that contained his illustrious ancestors.

It is with infinite regret I must state, that, although I seldom left Lord Byron's pillow during the latter part of his illness, I did not hear him make any, even the smallest, mention of religion. At one moment I heard him say: "Shall I sue for mercy?" After a long pause he added: "Come, come, no weakness! let's be a man to the last."

Before concluding this melancholy portion of what I have known of this celebrated man, during the last six months of his life, I beg that inexactitude may

not be laid to my charge, if I have passed over in silence many of the particulars, which belonged to the character of this strange compound of opposite passions. I have cursorily mentioned the excellent qualities of his heart; but I am incapable of enumerating the faults of one, from whom I received so many marks of kindness, merely to gratify the curiosity of the idle or the malice of his enemies. To all future inquirers, I prefer saying with the poet;

"No further seek his merits to disclose,
Or draw his frailties from their dread abode.
There they alike in trembling hope repose,
The bosom of his Father and his God."

Before we proceeded to embalm the body, we could not refrain from pausing, in silent contemplation, on the lifeless clay of one, who, but a few days before, was the hope of a whole nation and the admiration of the civilized world. After consecrating a few moments to the feelings, such a spectacle naturally inspired, we could not but admire the perfect symmetry of his body. Nothing could surpass the beauty of the forehead; its height was extraordinary, and the protuberances, under which the nobler intellectual faculties are supposed to reside, were strongly pronounced. His hair, which curled naturally, was quite grey; the mustachios light coloured. His physiognomy had suffered little alteration; and still preserved the sarcastic haughty expression, which habitually characterized it. The chest was broad, high vaulted, the waist very small, the pelvis rather narrow; the muscular system well pronounced; especially that of the superior extremities; the skin delicate and white; and the habit of the body plump. The adipose tissue was every where predominant, a proof of his natural predisposition to embonpoint;

which his severe abstemiousness could hardly counteract. The only blemish of his body, which might otherwise have vied with that of Apollo himself, was the congenital malconformation of his left foot and leg. The foot was deformed, and turned inwards; and the leg was smaller and shorter than the sound one. Although Lord Byron preferred attributing his lameness to the unskilful treatment of a sprained ankle, there can be little or no doubt, that he was born club-footed.

The following are the principal phenomena, which the autopsy presented. The cranium resembled completely that of a man much advanced in age; its sutures were obliterated; its two tables were united into one; no traces of the diploe remained, and the texture of it was as hard as ivory. The adhesion of the dura mater to the interior of the skull-cap was extraordinarily strong. Its vessels were large, highly injected, and it had acquired at least twice its usual thickness. Each of its surfaces was covered with strong organized bands, uniting them powerfully to the adjacent parts. Its prolongation, the falciform process, was perhaps even more inflamed, and adhered firmly to the hemispheres; and the tentorium cerebelli, though in a less degree, was also strongly injected. The pia mater presented the appearance of the conjunctiva on an inflamed eye. The whole system of sanguiferous vessels, of the cerebrum and cerebellum, was gorged with blood, and their substance was surprisingly hard. The ventricles contained several ounces of serous fluid.

The lungs were perfectly healthy and crepitant; and what is seldom observed in natives of cold climates, had not contracted the slightest adhesion to the pleura. The appearance, presented by the heart, was singular. Its parietes were as collapsed, and of

a consistence, as flabby as those of persons, who have died of old age. Its muscular fibres were pale, and hardly pronounced; and the ventricles had no thickness whatever.

The liver was beginning to undergo the alterations, observed in persons, who have indulged in the abuse of alcoholic liquors. Its bulk was smaller, its texture harder, its colour much lighter than in its healthy condition. The stomach and intestines presented no remarkable phenomena.

CHAPTER XVI.

Grief of all parties at Lord Byron's death—Intrigues of Odysseus —Opinions of the people respecting a form of government— Intrigues for a share of the loan—Account of Mr. Trelawney.

THE most dreadful public calamity could not have spread more general consternation, or more profound and sincere grief among the Mesolonghiots, than the unexpected news of Lord Byron's death. During the few months he had lived among them, he had given so many proofs of the sincerity and extent of his zeal for the advancement of their best interests; he had, with so much generosity, sacrificed considerable sums to that purpose; he had relieved the distress of so many unfortunate persons, that every one looked upon him as a father and public benefactor. These titles were not, as they mostly are, the incense of adulation, but the spontaneous tribute of overflowing gratitude. He had succeeded in inspiring the soldiers with the brightest and most sanguine expectations. Full of confidence in a chief they loved, they would have followed him in the boldest enterprises. To-day they must follow the corpse of him, whom they received but yesterday with the liveliest acclamations. The inhabitants of the surrounding country had flocked to Mesolonghi to celebrate the feasts of Easter; but these days of rejoicing were changed into days of unaffected mourning. On the 22d the burial ceremony was performed with all possible pomp. But the heartfelt tears of an entire population were its finest ornament. Tricoupi pronounced on the occasion a funeral oration, which did

him credit as a patriot and orator. On the 2d of May, the body was embarked for Zante. Hatajè and her mother left Mesolonghi by the same vessel. When in the lazaret, it was explained to them, that they might choose to go either to Patras where Hussein Aga was, or to England. They naturally accepted the former proposal. " I thought you slaves," said the father in embracing them, " and lo! you return to me decked like brides."

On the 23d of April Mr. E. Trelawney arrived at Mesolonghi. Scarcely had he been informed by Mr. Finlay of Lord Byron's indisposition, than he left Salona, and hastened to visit his friend. But he arrived only to imprint a last kiss on his pallid lips. He was bearer of several despatches from his hero and friend Odysseus; by which his lordship was entreated not to disappoint the hopes of the capitani and primates, assembled at Salona, but to come immediately to assist them by his counsels. So great indeed was his impatience to have an interview with him, that he had, for some weeks previous, used every means to induce him to quit Mesolonghi: and notwithstanding Mavrocordato's endeavours to dissuade him, he would assuredly have undertaken the journey, had he not been prevented by the inclemency of the season, the affair of Caraiscachi, and lastly by his illness.

Negris and Sophanopoulo, the most intriguing and unprincipled men in existence, had imagined this assembly. It required no more to place Mavrocordato on his guard. He could easily foresee, that the man, who, once secretary of state, was, on account of his utter unworthiness, turned out of his situation, and had embraced Colocotrone's and afterwards Odysseus' party, teaching them the means of subverting the constitution, which he himself had been instrumental

in forming, could mean no good in convoking to a congress capitani, who were the professed enemies of the established government. The taking into consideration the existing states of things, cementing a more intimate union between Eastern and Western Greece, and devising a general plan of defence for the ensuing campaign—these were the ostensible motives of the congress. But the real aim of Negris and Odysseus was to draw Lord Byron over to their side. They had construed the momentary coolness between Lord Byron and Mavrocordato into enmity:—forgetting that, even if an enmity had arisen between them, it would be only personal, and therefore in no way influence their political principles, which were unalterably devoted to the support of government. Trusting to his lordship's dislike to Mesolonghi and the governor-general, they hoped they could easily prevail upon him to remove to Athens; a spot which, compared to the former, is a paradise; and which former recollections could not but render peculiarly attractive to Lord Byron. In order to mislead his judgment, Odysseus had been taught to perform a liberal part; and with such a prompter as Negris, played it so well, that he completely imposed on Lord Byron, and every Englishman then at Athens.

Among the many erroneous observations, made by various writers, none is more palpable, than that the mass of the Greek population was averse to a king. As to their pretended attachment to a republican form of government, the assumption is not only gratuitous, but absurd. Throwing off the Turkish yoke was the only object, the common people had in view in taking up arms. Their ignorance and depravity did not permit them to see an inch further. How could they then appreciate the blessings of civil

liberty? and admire a form of government unknown to them? Thanks to the abuses of their military chiefs! it never existed but on paper.

Weary of the numberless vexations of an undisciplined soldiery, and of the complete anarchy, in which they lived, the common people sighed after a deliverer, who they thought could only be a king. So great indeed was their misery, that to better their condition they would gladly have submitted not only to the monarchical, but to any other form of government, except that of their own countrymen or the Turkish. How often has the question been put to me—"Will not the European powers send us a king to govern us? will not the English take us under their protection? Slaves we were under the Turks, but are we not equally so under our capitani and primates? We may change them; but will not their successors practise the same extortions, and endeavour to enrich themselves at our expense? Who but a foreigner can terminate the evils, arising from our discords?"

The only persons to whom the idea of a king was obnoxious were those petty tyrants and their followers, who felt that their destruction would be the first step taken towards the establishment of good order. These hoped to perpetuate the reign of confusion; that, undisturbed, they might continue to suck the blood and substance of the country.

The motive, which rendered Odysseus so very anxious to engage Lord Byron's friendship, was the information which had reached him, that the Greek Loan, which had been negotiated in London, would shortly be in Greece, and that his lordship had been appointed chief commissioner for its partition and employment. He readily foresaw, that were Lord Byron to place it entirely in the hands of the government,

it would be instantly employed to crush the rebellious capitani, and consequently it would be employed in the first instance against himself. Before that decisive moment arrived, he flattered himself, that he might succeed in detaching Lord Byron from the government party to which he had hitherto adhered, and avert the impending storm. If he failed in obtaining so complete a triumph, he was still confident that he could at least so far impose upon Lord Byron, as to find in him a mediator to reconcile him with a government he dared no longer oppose, and thus be admitted to a share in the golden fleece.

Lord Byron was a man not to be imposed upon by appearances. He judged the tree by the fruit it bore; he estimated Odysseus therefore at his just value. But had Odysseus been of a less objectionable character, nothing could have induced Lord Byron to deviate from the line of conduct, which he had traced out to himself; for it was the result of mature consideration. To gain the esteem and confidence of all parties as much as possible, appeared to him necessary for the execution of his plans. Accordingly, he accepted the invitation of Odysseus, persuaded, that, during an interview, he should be able to bring him over to the government, by virtue of the omnipotent golden talisman, intrusted to his hands. He thought it necessary to weaken, but not to destroy the power of the capitani; for he considered them essential to the defence of Greece; more especially in that desultory warfare which its topography favours so highly. The most lamentable consequence of his death, for this country, was, perhaps, in the circumstance that the Loan, which, placed under his direction, might have operated wonders, fell into the hands of narrow-minded men, who dedicated it to carrying on the civil war, rather to satisfy their petty

ambition, and favour their selfish views, than to the benefit of the country. Thus was turned into poison that remedy, which, skillfully administered, might have cured the complicated evils under which the country laboured.

No sooner did the news of Lord Byron's death reach Salona, than letters were despatched by Colonel Stanhope to Mr. Trelawney; who when he had perused them, sailed instantly for Zante (May 6th), where he was directed to apprise those, to whom the Loan had been addressed, not to deliver any portion of it to the Greek government, before it had given a statement of the most pressing wants of the state and the actual force of the army, with guarantees to ensure the payment. Odysseus wrote to them in the same sense, and indeed no measure could be more conformable to the wishes of the factions.

Colocotrone, Petrobey, &c. sent also agents to Zante, who protested against the delivery of the Loan to the existing government. Had they not been so powerfully operated upon by avarice, the capitani might, by dedicating only a small portion of their wealth to the payment of their soldiers, have commanded the majority of the population, capable of bearing arms, and in a few days completely destroyed the government. But not one of them would make the slightest sacrifice! This narrow-minded policy, which had hitherto proved so great an obstacle to the establishment of the constitution, became, in this instance, its only safeguard; for no sooner was the money remitted into the hands of the authorities in administration, than its attraction proved so powerful that the chiefs were abandoned even by their most zealous followers; and several of the capitani themselves rallied around the standard of government.

Mr. Trelawney occupies so romantic a place in

the annals of Modern Greece, his adventures in the Cavern of Odysseus, the black assassination, attempted by Fenton and Whitcombe, whom he had admitted to his friendship, the generous manner in which he spared the life of the latter and set him at liberty, having made some noise in England, the reader will not be sorry to see a slight sketch of this gentleman's person and character. Though somewhat below the full-grown stature, he was altogether a very handsome man, possessed of great strength and surprising agility. Nature had given him a highly romantic countenance; his wild, haughty, unquiet, scintillating dark eye denoted his disposition to bold and extraordinary undertakings. In his manners and opinions he seemed to have taken Anastasius for his model; and, to judge from his lofty language, he had a mint of phrases as rich as Don Adriano de Armado; and he entertained for his heroes a veneration as deep as that of Don Quixote himself for all the giant-killers and liberators of imprisoned virgins who had preceded him. Born of a respectable Cornish family, he embarked when young as a midshipman; but finding that the strictness of naval discipline did not allow much room for indulging romantic dispositions, he quitted the ship on its arrival in the East Indies, and soon after joined the buccaneers, who then infested those seas. Among them he passed his happiest days, meeting continually with the most extraordinary adventures, and hair-breadth escapes. He might have yet continued to enjoy a life so congenial to his disposition, had not his companions sought to kill him during a dispute about prize-money. He satisfied his vengeance; but seeing himself closely pursued, the terror he felt was so great that, he did not stop in his flight till he found himself in the country of the Wachabees. The exploits, which followed, though

not new were marvellous; the quality atoning for the quantity.

At length, in a fit of nostalgia, he determined on returning home, the place of his birth appearing to him then dearer than the three Arabias. His native air soon cured him of this intermittent paroxysm, for he found Cornishmen a tame set of persons. Growing weary of home, he passed over to Italy, where more room was afforded to indulge his oriental habits. He formed there an acquaintance with Lord Byron, who derived no little pleasure from the company of so singular a character. He invited him to accompany him into Spain; but hearing of the disasters, the constitutional party had sustained, he proposed going to Greece. Arrived at Cephalonia, Trelawney discovered that Lord Byron was not romantic enough to be his companion; and he started in consequence for Peloponnesus; where having roamed in vain in quest of a hero, he passed over to Athens. There he met with Odysseus; and so powerful is the invisible force of sympathy, that, although they could not understand each other's language, they became in an instant, intimate friends.

According to Trelawney, Odysseus was the personification of the *beau ideal* of every manly perfection, mental and bodily. He swore by him, and imitated him in the minutest actions. His dress, gait, air and address were not only perfectly similar, but he piqued himself even in being as dirty; having as much vermin, and letting them loose from his fingers in the same dignified manner as if sparing a conquered enemy. This ridiculous spirit of imitation was in other respects very useful to him; for it enabled him to endure the privations and hardships, inseparable from the Greek mode of warfare, with as much apparent indifference as his prototype; sleeping on

the bare earth with a stone for a pillow, and, in one word, sustaining a total want of every bodily comfort. All this, however, was only when distant from Athens. On his return thither he found ample compensation for the toils of war, in the enjoyments of a numerous harem. The courage which distinguished him in Negropont acquired him the esteem of his friend, and of the palichari. He so rapidly and completely moulded himself to their manners, as to be generally taken for a Roumeliot. This, with his generosity, gained him their affection; and his severity ensured him their obedience. With similar qualities Trelawney would, most certainly, have risen into notice, had not fortune turned against the friend, to whose destinies he had linked his own. Whatever his faults, however, and the blame, which his conduct in embracing the party of a rebel and traitor to his country, may draw upon him, every European, who knew him in Greece, cannot but praise the generous qualities of his heart, and acknowledge him to have been a most entertaining companion: and though owing, no doubt, to his prolonged stay in oriental countries, his imagination got the better of his veracity; or, as Lord Byron observed of him, "he could not, even to save his life, tell the truth;" his narrations were so interesting, that whether true or untrue one could not but listen to them, with as much pleasure as to the wonders of an Arabian tale.

CHAPTER XVII.

Turkish expedition against Ipsara—Character of the Ipsariots—Unhealthy climate of Mesolonghi—The author's illness—Kindness of Lord Charles Murray—Character of the Greek peasantry—Their oppression by the capitani.

A FEW days after Trelawney's departure, information arrived, that Colonel Stanhope was on his way to Zante, and that Ipsara, threatened by the Turkish fleet, had sent despatches to government, urgently imploring the assistance of their brother islanders. Of all Greek islanders, the Ipsariots were the most barbarous. Ever dreaded as pirates, they arose into notice only after the revolution. Their prosperity rose on the misfortunes of Chio and Aivali, of which they were the principal authors. After the destruction of the greater part of the population of that island, they refused giving up the vessels belonging to its wealthy merchants, and which they were in the habit of navigating. Not satisfied with this, they plundered every inhabitant of the above unfortunate places, who sought shelter on their island, or demanded exorbitant sums to transport them to some place of safety. How many, who could not satisfy their avidity, were left to fall preys to Turkish cruelty! Let me not be accused of exaggeration. Ask the hundreds of females, who were sold in the bazaars of Smyrna and Constantinople. Ask the destitute Chiots, wandering in the Morea from place to place, from island to island. Ask the Chiot merchants, who had time to fly to

Europe. All will enter into details which will make you shudder respecting their shameful and inhuman behaviour. And even the Ipsariots themselves, when brought by their own misfortunes, to reflection, attribute them chiefly to the just imprecations of those unfortunate beings they had so barbarously wronged.

The accusation made against Colonel Stanhope of his being the cause of the fall of Ipsara is as absurd as it is unprincipled. "Had he," say the islanders, "authorised the delivery of a portion of the Loan, our fleet would, after being paid, have put to sea, and arrived in time to relieve that island." Even granting that the colonel could not entirely exculpate himself, he could only be considered as the indirect cause of its fall; and the whcle blame would justly fall on those, who, aware of the indelible shame, brought on their character by their sordid conduct, awkwardly endeavoured to render another responsible for their vices and crimes. Had not, in fact, the Hydriots and Spezziots been governed by mercenary feelings as they were; had their souls been in the smallest degree alive to the voice of patriotism, could they have lent a deaf ear to the entreaties of so many thousands of their brethren? and could they have calculated with so much indifference on the prospect of their ruin? If the sailors had refused to depart without money in advance, could not Conduriotti, Tombasi, Botasi, or any of the other wealthy primates, in a moment so urgent, draw from their exhaustless coffers the small sum requisite? It was not a sacrifice they were called upon to make but a loan, which they were sure of receiving back on the first payment of the money then at Zante. Could they not imitate Lord Byron's conduct, who a few months before, when it was uncertain yet whether a loan

could be negotiated, had lent to the fleet no less than twenty thousand dollars? Indeed, one might be induced to credit the opinion, then prevalent, in Greece, that the islanders secretly wished for the humiliation of the Ipsariots, with whom they had ever been on terms almost amounting to enmity. It is difficult, however, for any one who has not lived among them, to imagine how great an envy, and how bitter a hatred subsist between the Spezziots and the Hydriots even to this very day.

Mesolonghi, which at every time of the year is a very unhealthy spot, becomes remarkably so at the approach of summer. Its outskirts and even its interior, as before observed, are during the winter rains converted into one immense morass; and when the waters dry up, the effluvia arising from so extensive a marshy surface, occasion not only intermittents of the worst description, but putrid disorders. The number of my patients, affected with typhus, was extraordinary. Unhabituated to the climate, and continually exposed to the contagion, I did not fail to be attacked myself by the same disorder. Tormented by its worst symptoms, the horrors of which cannot be conveyed to the mind by any description, I lay on a feverish bed, watched negligently by a mercenary servant; who, considering me an assured prey, anxiously expected the moment I should expire, to possess himself of the few articles in my possession. A long martyrized sufferer, I earnestly implored the parting stroke.

While in that cruel intermediate state between life and death, as it were, a stranger enters my apartment, approaches my bed, and gently pressing my hand, asks me in English how I feel; what makes me suffer most? He answers my complaints with the

most soothing words sympathy can dictate, and strives to cheer my drooping spirits. At the sound of his voice departed hope returned to animate me. His benevolent looks reconciled me to life. The apparition of mercy's sweetest angel could not have brought me more comfort than the presence of this benevolent stranger. As soon as my strength allowed me, I feebly asked him who he was, whom Providence seemed to have sent to my rescue? "I am," answered he, "Lord Charles Murray, a son of the Duke of Athol. I was informed on my arrival, of the sad situation in which you were. A countryman, friendless, dangerously ill, were to me sufficient titles of recommendation. I felt all the bitterness of your situation, having myself been once in the same condition. Till I see you recovered, depend upon it, I shall not depart from your bedside." In fact during my protracted illness, regardless of the danger of contagion, day and night, this inestimable young man continued to attend me with an unremitting assiduity, and a care which even the fondest of mothers could scarcely show to a darling child. To his benevolence I owe my life!—and gratitude renders it a delightful task to pay this small tribute to his memory. How rare are similar instances of disinterested philanthropy in this cold world of egotism!

As soon as health allowed me, I was accompanied by Lord Charles Murray to Cerasovo, a small village four leagues distant from Mesolonghi. It is situated on an elevated position in that ridge of mountains which separate the fertile plains of Vrachori from those of Anatolico and Mesolonghi. It is called Zugo, and this name is given to the whole province. The balmy air of this village; its limpid, cool springs, its delightful walks amidst its majestic woods of chest-

nuts, the pleasant rides its smiling environs afford, contributed rapidly to improve my health. During the two months, I remained there, I availed myself of the opportunity to observe the habits and study the character of the Greek peasantry, in which it was impossible not to observe the manifold evils, which had arisen from the tyrannical administration under which they lived.

Generally speaking, the Greek peasants are intelligent, industrious, hardy, and indefatigable whenever their idol, money, is to remunerate their toils. Frugal, temperate in habits, economical, not to say parsimonious, inquisitive, suspicious, eager of knowledge, they possess all the rudiments, requisite to form excellent husbandmen. They are passionately fond too of every pursuit in the shape of trade. Clownish manners are seldom observed among them. They have grace, and something prepossessing in their mode of presenting themselves. They express themselves with fluency and harmony, very unlike any of our peasantry; and they soon become familiar with a stranger. On first meeting one they eye him attentively from head to foot, and direct their questions with great penetration and good sense.

The blindest superstition is sedulously propagated among them by the clergy; the belief in vampires, fascination, witches, &c. &c. is universal; and, in every sense of the word, they are buried in an idolatry as profound as that of their pagan forefathers.

The administration of this and of all villages, dispersed over the country, had suffered no alteration with the revolution, except that the Cogiabashi (elder) dealt now with the Greek capitano instead of the Turkish aga. The new chief, generally selected from among the most notorious highway-

robbers, instead of removing the yoke which pressed so hard on the neck of his countrymen, rendered it more insupportable. Formerly the raya could by artifice impose upon the indolent stupidity of the Turk, and withdraw himself momentarily from his tyranny. This was now become impossible; and what still more embittered the feelings of the Greek was, that, far from enjoying some compensation for the thousand evils and losses, the revolutionary war had occasioned, he saw his very brother changed into his despot. If the injustice of a spalù, or aga, were too evident, redress might often be obtained by complaining to the cadi or to the pasha; but now the oppressed saw no superior force to afford him protection against his oppressor. Escorted by a numerous train of his former companions, and other resolute fellows armed up to the teeth; the capitano travelled through his province, from village to village, levying arbitrary contributions and collecting tithes, under pretence of maintaining his troops; and dispensing justice to the highest bidder. Should any one, out of obstinacy or poverty, fail to pay the imposed sum, without further process, he was, *ad terrorem*, extended on the ground, whilst two of the most vigorous palichari alternately struck his posteriors with ponderous bludgeons, like men threshing corn; till he vociferated, that he had devised the means of procuring himself the money in question. Pecuniary punishments were those preferred by the capitani, when dispensing justice. I heard from one of them the following observation, which was long after repeated word for word by a pasha: "beat a Greek merely, he'll forget the punishment with the smart; fine him, and he will never forget the loss of what is dearer to him than his heart's blood; but that which will correct him best

of his faults, is to make him pay first, and then beat him into the bargain." As long as the capitano continued to honour the village with his presence, he and his soldiers lived on the fatness of the land; the poor peasant's flock, poultry-yard, and cellar, daily feeling the effects of their revels.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Cogiabashi—Macri—His character—Description of Cerasovo—Death of Draco.

No government would have been, comparatively speaking, more wealthy than the Greek, if its resources had been properly applied. Without entering into minuter details, it will suffice to say, that the richer districts of Morea had not suffered in the least during the war of extermination that succeeded the insurrection in 1822. Dramali devastated only those of Argos, Corinth, and Sycyon; but the province of Gastorini, the fertile plains of Arcadia, Messenia, Mistra, &c., never resounded with the din of war. The Greeks became possessors of every object, belonging to the enemy, as peaceably as if they had been yielded up to them by voluntary concession. The mountain districts were, if possible, still less disturbed: the revolutionary blaze burst out there so suddenly into general conflagration, that, so to say, every Turk was smothered by the flames, before he could think of escape. In the districts of Calavuta, Phanari, Caritena, Leondari, Zakounia, Bardounia, not an armed Mussulman remained alive five days after the unfurling of the standard of the cross. In continental Greece, the insurrection was so sudden and unforeseen, that the Turkish population had no time to take measures, but, like men buried in sleep, were exterminated without resistance.

The produce of the above districts may be valued at twenty millions of francs. Continental Greece and

the islands might give half that sum. This certainly might have supplied all the wants of the state; and once secured by interior force against every possible aggression of the enemy, the prosperity and wealth of the country would daily have increased to such a degree as to render it an object of envy to the surrounding nations.

A baron, in the feudal ages, could not more absolutely lord it over his vassals, than Gligori, the Cogiabashi of Cerasovo, over the inhabitants of his village. Not satisfied with the tenth of every produce, he obliged the peasants, by turns, to work during a certain number of days in the year, on his properties. *Djeremè* and *angàr* (fines, and contributions of labour) were terms hourly in his mouth. In case wood, or materials to build his house, were wanted, he forced as many peasants, as were necessary, to leave off their occupations and go, gratis, with their own beasts of burden, to find and bring whatever he might stand in need of. Every one trembled before him; and sought, by oblations, incense, and the most submissive appearance, to dissipate the frowns of this angry divinity. And unfortunate was he, who unable to satisfy his pride or his avarice, did not succeed in gaining his good graces. He became instantly the object of his constant, petty, vexations.

The cogiabashi of the neighbouring villages once passed through Cerasovo. They remained one day at Gligori's, who regaled them with a splendid picnic entertainment, of which, however, every one but the contributors partook. He knew who had the largest turkeys, kept register of the age of capons, was informed where the fattest lambs, the best honey, the oldest wine, could be had: and, in virtue of an

order published by the crier, all the good things of the village, shortly after, decorated his board. Their revels continued till late in the night; and every time they drained the overflowing goblet, the kettle-drum and shrill trumpet of the gipsies (the itinerant musicians of Levant) brayed out the triumph of their pledges.

The capitano of this province (Ζυγὸς) was the renowned Demetri Macri; a herdsman by birth, who, forced in his youth to fly from his village, where he had perpetrated a murder, volunteered under the orders of Catzantoni, Lepeniolachi, Kleissonra and other kleftes, who, for many years, had been the terror of continental Greece. It has been a very general cant with travellers who have written on Greece, to represent the kleftes as heroic sons of liberty, who, impatient of the Turkish yoke, preferred abandoning their homes, and leading an independent though miserable existence in caverns and on mountain tops, trusting for their subsistence to the spoils of the enemy. In a few rare instances this was the case—in that of Bouccovala for instance; but, in general, the Greek kleftes are in their origin and every other respect exactly similar to the banditti, who infest the kingdom of Naples, and almost all the high roads of Italy. In the exercise of their honourable profession, these men spared neither Greek nor Turk. If they lived on good terms with the inhabitants of villages, it arose merely from the circumstance, that their own existence depended on preserving the peasantry's friendship. Unfortunate the village, which failed in punctually remitting the provisions, ammunitions, or other object which their rapacity demanded. It might rely on having its houses, or its harvests, burned, or suffering a thousand vexations. On this account Gli-

gori's father was killed by Macri's band; and, a few days after his death, the house, inhabited by his family, was completely destroyed. Sirsta, a neighbouring hamlet, became, on another occasion, the theatre of their excesses. The situation of the peasantry, already so miserable throughout Greece, was rendered still more so by the kleftes. They were between anvil and hammer; being equally obliged to maintain the thieves and the bands of Armatolis employed in their pursuit; and as much exposed to the vexations of the Turk, if he detected them supplying the thieves with provisions, or sending them information, as to the resentment of the latter, should they omit doing it. In case any depredation was committed in a district, it unavoidably brought loss upon loss; and the contributions, raised to apprehend the robbers, might, many times over, have bought the objects, carried away.

Macri was a man guilty of every crime. Frequently have I heard him relate some of his exploits with the greatest sang-froid; though the slightest word of his bloody narration harrowed up the hearer's soul! Compared to him, Turpin and Cartouche were as innocent as babes. By remaining so many years among the woods, these men had gradually become as savage as the wild beasts, their only companions. Closely pursued by the Armatolis, Macri, as he once related to us, lived during six weeks entirely on raw herbs, and now and then raw meat. He dared not light a fire, lest its smoke or flame should lead to his detection. He at last entered a poor cottage, the tenant of which was an old woman, whom he found busy in preparing a fire to bake some Indian corn bread. His hunger was such, that, unable to stay any longer, he seized the dough out of her hands, and in a few moments

devoured the whole. Never in his life, according to his confession, did he eat any thing, howsoever dainty, with such a relish.

When the revolution happened, the population of Etolia gathered around his standard. He rushed without delay on the populous town of Vrachori, where he engaged the Turks to surrender, under a solemn promise of allowing them and their families free passage to Prevesa. But, once possessor of their wealth and arms, he put them all to death; and similar horrors were perpetrated in every part of Greece. The Jews, who were here in considerable numbers, underwent the same fate as the Mussulmen*.

If any thing could palliate the conduct of the Greek, it might be said, that he was acting against the oppressor of his nation for centuries, the ravisher of his children; the persecutor of his religion; and that retaliation justified every blow. Those, that

* A Turkish man-of-war ran foul on the sandbank near the mouth of the Phidari. It had on board several of the wealthiest agas of Morea, who had in time fled to Patras, and thus escaped the fate of their countrymen. They had embarked with their families and the whole of their property, and were proceeding to Patras. After reiterated but vain attempts to extricate the vessel from its position, they sought to escape in the boats, but saw themselves surrounded by so many misticoes and gun-boats belonging to the Mesolonghiots, that they deemed the execution of their purpose impracticable. Proposals of surrender were made to them by Razi Cotzica, a Mesolonghiot, who, with an eloquence more artful even than Sinon's, succeeded so fully in beguiling them, that, on condition of life, they delivered their arms and wealth into Macri's hands, who ironically assured them he would not fail to send them with the same escort to Prevesa, as he had given to the Mussulmen of Vrachori. He kept punctually his promise. The wealth which on this occasion fell to his lot could not amount to less than eighty thousand dollars; but as his mind was so brutish as not to know the value of money, he buried all in the mountains and impenetrable woods with the rest of his treasures, and continued to live as economically as the poorest peasant.

condemn them so freely, should look into the history of their own country, and recollect the more recent revolutions of France and the rest of Europe, the bloody murders of the Protestants by the Catholics, the thirty years' war in Germany, or the cruelties practised in our own country during its civil wars, when the strongest natural ties were broken asunder, and the warmest friends became the bitterest enemies. And yet the cause of all the horrors, then committed, was little better than a childish play about words.

Whatever judgment may be pronounced on the conduct of the Greeks towards the Turks, one good consequence arose from their cruelties. A line of demarcation was, thereby, established between the two nations; a barrier of blood, which rendered all future approximation impossible. The Christian felt he could no longer rely on pardon; he distrusted the enticing promises of his enemy; and looked on his moderation and assurances of clemency, as snares, laid only to ensure his revenge. How often has the affrighted Greek been ready to lay down his arms, and implore mercy! but as often, seeing no alternative between death and resistance, despair has inspired him with fresh resolution, and fear, supplying patriotic virtue, has maintained him independent. On the other hand, however, had the Greeks showed more humanity towards their oppressors, and observed more scrupulously the faith of capitulations, every fortress in Peloponnesus would have been yielded up into their hands by their garrisons, which, more than once, were reduced to the last extremity. The reader will judge from the report of the siege of Coron, such as I gathered it from the mouth of Mousa Bey and its principal inhabitants, during my stay in that fortress, that no other consideration than the certainty of undergoing the same lot as their

countrymen after the surrender of Navarino and Monemvasia, prevented their giving it up to the besiegers.

To return to Cerasovo: Nature had surrounded the inhabitants of this village with all the means of procuring themselves the most comfortable existence with very little trouble. Their woods contained the finest timber; and the prodigious quantity daily demanded for the construction of houses, and of the fortifications at Mesolonghi, kept the Cerasoviots employed through the greater part of the year. The produce of their chestnuts was considerable; and they loaded, every season, numerous Ionian boats with that fruit, which fetched on an average one dollar and a half per horse-load. The poorest peasant realized then no less than forty dollars; some upwards of two hundred. Cherry and mulberry trees beautified the outskirts of the village. The leaves of the latter tree served to the nourishment of the silk-worm; and the fruit of the cherry (black), after undergoing the necessary fermentation, affords by distillation the most agreeable spirit. In the vicinity of the houses lay the gardens, and fields for the cultivation of Indian corn. But the principal properties of the peasants were in the plain, a league distant from Cerasovo.

The road to this town is highly romantic. There every one has his vineyard, olive-trees, and a house, which is inhabited only when the season for making wine and oil is at hand. Few of the fields were cultivated; and these few produced, for the moment, corn, tobacco, and cotton. The most luxuriant imagination of the poet cannot conceive any thing more beautiful and rich than this immense plain. It is on all sides bordered by mountains, which, in this country throughout, but here especially, present the

boldest and most picturesque outlines; the relievo of which is strikingly embellished by the ever-varying hues of the atmosphere, and the gorgeous tints of an eastern sky. A thousand rills, descending from the hills, distribute beauty, verdure, and fertility, to the plain; and terminate in three broad lakes, named by the country people Nezèrè; which, during the ardours of summer, serve as inexhaustible reservoirs; renewing by the abundant dews, their evaporation produces, morning and evening, the freshness of the thirsty plants, and serving the purposes of the agricultor in the cultivation of rice, cotton, Indian corn, &c. The ancients, who displayed in general so much taste in the choice of situations for their cities and buildings, could not be otherwise than struck by the beauty and advantages of these regions: hence we find every position in the surrounding hills, that admits of defence, occupied by ruins.

Above the modern village of Papadodes exist the walls of a very extensive city. The acropolis, the semicircular seats of the theatre, the foundations of a temple, are quite distinct. I visited, also, the ruins of another large city, on the north side of the plain; within whose walls are the remains of a church built during the lower empire. My friend, Mr. Finlay of Glasgow, accompanied me in this excursion. This young gentleman, the lively qualities of whose mind are equalled only by the amiable dispositions of his heart, escaped only by miracle the fatal tribute, paid by most Europeans for their Philhellenism, or classical curiosity. On his return to Cerasovo, he was attacked by a most severe gastric fever, which soon brought on most alarming symptoms; and as it was attended also by the baneful influence of nostalgia, the most sedulous care would have proved unavailable, had he not in time been removed to Zante.

On my arrival here, I found a Prussian, named Rosener; one of the many, whom crosses in love rendered Philhellenes. Treiber had advised him to repair, during his convalescence, to this spot for change of air. Two years had he been in Greece; and after the defeat of the Philhellene regiment at Petta, driven by necessity, he inlisted as private palichari, under the orders of Stornari, capitano of the district of Arpropotamo; a man who, after the revolution, possessed himself of immense wealth. Like the generality of Greek chiefs, who, in this respect, perfectly resemble the Albanian, his egotism neutralized his courage. Nicitas and Marco Bozzari, the only capitani who, on every occasion, exhibited unquestionable proofs of courage, were equally distinguished by their disinterestedness. How can an individual, who is governed by the love of gold, and who, above all things, regards personal safety, be capable of encountering danger? If he ever ventures on an undertaking, risk must be out of the question; and the certainty of booty must allure him. Honour, that talisman which amongst us renders the most cowardly capable of the noblest actions, is entirely unknown in the Greek armies. The instinct of self-preservation so much preponderates above every other sentiment, that they consider running into danger a folly; and the idea of devoting one's life for the general weal, the height of folly. When informed, that in engagements between European civilised nations, entire regiments allow themselves to be mowed down, sooner than flinch from their position, the Greek soldier would contemptuously shrug up his shoulders and exclaim: "Μὰ! τί κουτὸι ειναι τοὺτοι οι φράγγοι!" "Oh! what a stupid set are these Franks!" If ever Greek or Philhellene, transported by martial ardour, ventured on any valorous undertaking, he invariably be-

came a victim to his imprudent courage, and was abandoned by his followers at the most critical moment. Thus fell the eldest of the Petimesas, in attempting to repulse a sortie of the Turkish garrison of Corinth; thus the heroic Draco was allowed to fall alive, in the cruel hands of Omer Pasha; and thus failed the glorious attack of Marco. While spreading death and terror around him, he vainly cried out for Stornari and Caraiscachi to arrive and sustain his small band, thus to achieve his victory. Unmindful of their oaths, they basely kept aloof, till, overpowered by numbers and fatigue, the only great man, Greece had produced in these her bastard days, received his fatal wound, and expired in the very tent of the terrified Pasha.

CHAPTER XIX.

Religious observances—Fasts—Prejudices—Greek clergy.

MENTION has already been made of the habitual frugality and simplicity of living, that distinguish the Greeks; and of the extraordinary voracity, displayed during the festivals of their church. During the better half of the year, obliged to observe the fasts it prescribes, and which are far more rigid than those of the Catholics—fish, eggs, milk, and in fact every produce of red-blooded animals, being interdicted—a piece of Indian corn bread, baked under the embers, a dozen pickled olives, a few raw onions, or boiled wild herbs, amply satisfy the appetite of a Greek. He is never embarrassed for his meals; and, as Tournefort quaintly remarks, "will grow fat, where an ass might die of hunger." This is literally true; because the latter eats the leaves only, while the former cooks root and all.

No country can produce more savoury edible plants, and no nation is better acquainted with the virtues and properties of the various vegetables. At the end of a day's march, it is a singular sight for a new comer, to see the Greek soldiers spreading themselves all about the fields to botanize, as they say. For while they are all stooping towards the ground, collecting herbs, their fleecy capote makes them appear exactly like a flock of sheep grazing. After filling their handkerchiefs with roots, frequently fifteen or twenty different species, they form a general

mess; and, after boiling them, sit down in circles to enjoy this simple fare.

The Greek religion, among the common people, is entirely a religion of the stomach; for superstition, which constantly presides at his board, teaches that the orthodox use of food is the chief thing necessary to arrive at salvation; that it is equally his duty as a christian, who wishes to please the saints, the panagìa, and Christ, to fast at the appointed epochs, and to gorge himself, as much as possible, with the various viands under which the tables literally groan at their celebration of festivals. The appetite is with them in ratio with their devotion; and were a Greek to die of an indigestion, produced by inordinate gluttony, he would be considered a martyr, and die with as much assurance of going to heaven, as the Mahomedan, who falls in battle, of being immediately transported into the arms of the houris.

Fasting is looked upon by the Greek as a sacrament, which even divine justice cannot violate. Let no one accuse me of exaggeration; for so strictly convinced is a kleftes of the all-atoning power of fasting, that no consideration will induce him to break it; though, on the very same day, he will, without hesitation, commit the most dreadful atrocities.

Macri most religiously observed every fast in the year. The Greeks retain in their religion various Jewish ceremonies: they consider it a sin, for instance, to eat the flesh of an animal that has been smothered, as fowls and pigeons frequently are by us. This prejudice is so deeply rooted, that, after shooting a bird or hare, they cut the throat of the animal, and refuse to eat it afterwards unless it bleeds. The horror, they entertain for the land tortoise, is invincible. Nothing can induce them even to touch

that animal. They never perceive it without spitting, in sign of the great disgust its sight creates. Some Europeans, who came to see me while at Cerasovo, had caught several on the road. One of them, a German, whom long experience and necessity had rendered proficient in the art of killing and cooking that animal, announced a grand treat, and was preparing to execute his promise, when my hostess hastened with the assistance of her neighbours to remove all her kitchen apparatus; and, on the arrival of her husband, such an outcry was raised against us, that we deemed it prudent to leave the house, and cook in the open air. Notwithstanding our assertions, that its broth was more delicate than that of the finest capon, and the ragout, prepared with its flesh, excellent, we could not prevent the country people from looking upon us, as the most impure beings they had ever met with; and, for several days, they kept aloof from us, as if we laboured under some infectious complaint.

Most of the Greeks, who had travelled, or received some education, were far from being so bigoted as their brethren. They were, indeed, the first to ridicule the endless mummeries of their church; and it may be perceived, on perusing the Provisory Constitution of Greece, that the representatives of the nation, rather sought to reduce the authority of the clergy still more, than to augment them. Since the revolution the power of the upper clergy had almost entirely ceased. For the Turkish principles they always professed; their love of ostentation; the numerous instances of injustice of which they were charged; and the scandalous immorality of their conduct had, for a long time, alienated the affection of their flocks: while their illiberal opinions, and the enmity they, at first, manifested to the revolution, drew upon them

the universal contempt of the better-informed part of the nation. And here it may not be improper to enter a little deeper into this important subject.

The Greek clergy is divided into two classes, the monastic and the secular: the former (ιερόμόναχοι) are, from their youth, entirely educated in convents; and, after making vows of perpetual celibacy, are admitted into holy orders. All the learning, wealth, and dignities of the church, were in their absolute power, and, by means of these three omnipotent engines, they had, at all times, maintained a powerful authority over the people. The latter class, called κοσμοπὰπαδες, entered into holy orders after marriage. The only education, required of them, was the being able to read the liturgy in Greek. It mattered little whether they understood it or not; that was no business of theirs. They lived among the people, as curates formerly did in the poorer parts of North Wales; but their profits were so small, that to maintain themselves and families, they were in villages fated to depend chiefly on their manual exertions; and they never could aspire to further advancement. Their poverty and ignorance could procure to them little influence over the people; for they stood almost exactly on the same level in temporal matters: they were, therefore, mere passive tools in the hands of the upper clergy.

The insulation of the hierarchy from the rest of society, the total separation and even opposition of their interests, inevitably gave rise to an aristocratical influence which imposed a yoke on the neck of the Greek, almost as oppressive as that of the pasha. In order to conciliate the protection of the Turkish authority, the bishop made them handsome annual presents, which naturally came from his flock. Having thus tacitly purchased impunity, he could indulge

his rapacious inclinations uncontrolled; or, if ambition tormented him, accumulate sums, which might procure him from Constantinople the nomination to a wealthier see; and even to the dignity of patriarch; places always given to the highest bidder. The prelates affected, besides, a pomp and ostentation, little becoming the humble followers of a crucified redeemer. Whenever they appeared in public, they were accompanied by a train, only inferior to that of the pasha himself. Their conduct and that of the monks in general were highly immoral; and, not to mention others, the archbishop of Arta and Papaflessa, the bishop of Modon and Coron, were openly guilty of the most flagrant crimes.

The hierarchy had so intimately interwoven its interests with those of the existing government; and was so well aware, that any change in it would materially injure, if not entirely paralyze, its power; that the members of it were always most decidedly opposed to an insurrection of the Greeks; and, by inculcating submission to existing authorities as a christian duty, they trusted to perpetuate the lethargy that, during so many ages, had sealed up the eyes of the nation.

The Hetareia, far from attempting to make proselytes among men of this class, scrupulously concealed from them all their plans. They were aware, that, whilst the true followers of the gospel are favourable to liberty; and the diffusion of happiness through the medium of knowledge; the bigoted priests of superstition cling to a reign of tyranny and ignorance. They knew, that their minds were so governed by selfishness, that, brilliant as the picture might have been made of the future glory and prosperity of their regenerated nation; of the triumph

of the cross; and the unshackled profession of christianity, they could never be prevailed upon to quit a certainty for an uncertainty, or to sacrifice their interests to those of their flock. The Hœtareia expected to meet in the clergy the principal obstacle to the accomplishment of their wishes.

In fact, as soon as the Turkish authorities in Peloponnesus began to entertain apprehensions, on hearing the news of the insurrection in Moldavia and Wallachia, the presence of a Russian army on the banks of the Pruth, the disturbances at Constantinople, and the discontent of the Greeks throughout the empire, they felt the necessity of adopting measures to prevent disturbances in the peninsula; and, in order to deliberate on this question, they judged it expedient to assemble their most trust-worthy counsellors; viz. the principal dignitaries of the Greek church, and the primates.

So little aware had these persons been of a revolution being on the point of bursting out in their country, that they unsuspectingly went to Tripolitza; and were proposing the readiest means of disarming the people, and of lessening the daily increasing number of kleftes, when the explosion took place.

Germanos, bishop of Patras, was on his way to the assembly; when he received information of the massacre of the patriarch, of the first dignitaries of the Greek church, at Constantinople, and of part of the whole Greek population in that city. He immediately changed his direction; and concluding that the Turks in Peloponnesus would follow the example of their sultan, and that the extermination of the heads of the clergy and every individual of note was decreed, despair pointed out to him, as the sole expedient, to unfurl the standard of the cross,

and without delay to make every man of influence in the country aware of the conspiracy, formed against their religion and lives.

This intelligence spread over the Morea with the rapidity of lightning. Every where the clergy, seeing no alternative, between death, spoliation, persecution, and exile, or open revolt, shaking off their apathy, employed all the influence and eloquence they would otherwise have used to smother the rising flame of liberty, in order to produce a more rapid and general conflagration.

Zaimi of Calavrita, Londo of Vostitza, the Petimeras, obeyed instantly the call of their country. The bishops of Helos, of Modon, numerous hegoumeni, and monks, placed themselves at the head of armed bodies of peasants, whose ardour they increased by the hopes of Turkish spoils; and by representing the war not only as one for independence, but for the defence of their faith and their own existence. They reassured the timid by showing how easy their triumph would be, since Russia was coming to their assistance.

The Mainots, who were at all times in arms, instantly obeyed the signal. Colocotroni and all the former capitani of kleftes, whom the fate of war had compelled to abandon the Morea, presented themselves to the old companions of their dangers. The name of this celebrated leader operated like magic on the whole population; and, in less than a week, every province had risen in arms. Thus, the class, which, according to all human probability, was to prove most hostile to the insurrection, from unforeseen circumstances, became its principal support.

Without this coincidence, the revolution never could have taken place. The clergy only were able to destroy the spell, which had so long held in chains

the energies of the people. Their persuasions only could dissipate the hesitation, and rouse the timidity of the Moriot. More miraculous than the dragon's teeth, their words at once started the armed legions from every part of the land; and this proves, that the Greek insurrection owed its origin not, as most writers have asserted, to preconceived plans and fortunate combinations, but to casualties which could not have been foreseen.

CHAPTER XX.

Influence of the clergy diminished—Despotism and avarice of the capitani—Their insubordination—Illness and death of Lord Charles Murray—His noble character—Sessini—Character of the Greek Logiotati.

ALTHOUGH the clergy had thus been chiefly instrumental in bringing about the revolution; yet as soon as the national independence was once established, they possessed but little influence in the administration of affairs. They had themselves destroyed the principal prop of their temporal power. Turkish authority had fallen; and their influence fell with it. On maturer reflection little or no gratitude was professed towards them, by the people; for necessity and fear, rather than inclination and patriotism, had forced them to contribute to the triumph of that liberty they, till now, had been the foremost to restrain. But the chief reason of the obscurity, in which the clergy remained, was deficiency of talent amongst its members. The most respectable part of the higher clergy had been strangled in the prisons of Tripolitza. A few of those, who escaped a similar fate, attempted to take a part in the government, but soon gave up the task, as far exceeding their strength. Papaflessa was the only exception. He distinguished himself by his zeal as agent of the Hetareia before the insurrection, by his courage and activity as a warrior, when the nation was in arms; by the ardour he always displayed in support of the constitution against the rebels; and by the noble manner, in which he

fell at Coufièro, after vainly attempting to oppose Ibrahim Pasha's victorious march. As I shall hereafter have occasion to speak more at length of his character, I shall content myself with merely observing, that, although a member of the church, far from having any attachment for it, or living according to its rules, he took the earliest opportunity of renouncing the profession. The spiritual power of the clergy, however, continued to exercise the same absolute authority over the ignorant part of the population; but instead of employing it to establish harmony, peace, and good-will, they became, on repeated occasions, firebrands of discord.

A former patient of mine, the Eparch of Vrachori, honoured me one evening with his company. He was on his way to his prefecture, where, from information received, he now hoped to return in safety. Being a prudent logiotato, he judged it expedient, however, not to venture on too rashly; and while his *eclaireurs* reconnoitred the real state of things, he condescended to take his place at my humble board; where he related to me the cause of his precipitate flight from Vrachori. Staino Staico and his aide-de-camp, a notoriously profligate monk, had placed themselves at the head of two hundred soldiers, in order to oppose Alexachi Vlachopoulo, whom Mavrocordato had appointed capitano of that province. The Eparch, being himself a government man, refusing to acknowledge the legitimacy of Staico's pretensions, the latter resolved to revenge himself for the affront. During the night he broke into the house of the prefecture, from which Mr. Demetri, advised, as it were, by some preserving angel, had absented himself for a few moments. After destroying the seals of government, and taking every object, they could lay their hands upon, they hand-

cuffed his secretary, his servants, and a Greek of some consideration in the province, named Nicola Calchiotti, and carried them into the mountains. Owing to the cruel treatment he endured, Calchiotti died soon after; and in order to demonstrate to Mavrocordato how little they feared his authority, Staico and his aide-de-camp had the insolence and audacity to send to Mesolonghi the Eparch secretary in a complete state of nakedness to present their compliments to the governor-general.

Every village of that unfortunate province became the theatre of the crimes and extortions of these lawless depredators. The peasants sent daily complaints to Mesolonghi of the sufferings, they endured; but instead of redress, they obtained nothing but letters and proclamations*. In fact, Mavrocordato could use no other weapons; and his weakness was such, that he could not subdue even so small a band of rebels as this! Instead of healing the wound, he enlarged it, by ordering Vlachopoulo and his brethren to act against their rival. They judged it more prudent and advantageous, instead of exposing themselves to be murdered, to follow the example of the dog in the fable, who, unable to defend his master's meat, began to eat it.

* The following letter was addressed to the governor-general, by these unfortunate people.

"Excellency,

"We have written to you letter after letter, entreating, that you would settle the affairs of Vlochò; but, hitherto, we have not obtained any satisfaction. Seeing at present the unfortunate position of our prefecture, and of our families, we have taken the resolution of presenting ourselves in a body to your Excellency, in the hope of inducing you to adopt measures, by which our tranquillity may at last be secured. Should our applications still prove fruitless, we are not aware what remains for us to do, but to throw ourselves into the sea. We remain, &c. &c.

"*The Inhabitants of the prefecture Vlochò.*"

Nothing could be more melancholy, than the internal administration of the different prefectures. Most of them were the scenes of similar disturbances; and where no rival disputed the authority of the existing capitano, he reigned like the most absolute despot. Vain were all attempts to lessen the evil by sending Eparchs, to separate civil from military power. What amelioration could an unassisted stranger bring against an armed capitano, whom he wished to dispossess of the better half of his authority? These gentlemen, who generally dealt in very broad hints, soon gave the Eparchs to understand, that they must change opinions or quarters. Thus Phocà, Eparch of Veneticò, was forced precipitately to abandon his prefecture, to escape the resentment of Zanganà, whose rapacity he had sought in vain to oppose. Most prefects did not, however, display so much delicacy of conscience; but, mindful of the proverb, that one must howl when among wolves, he howled louder than the wolves themselves.

The most notorious among these Eparchs for extortion was, no doubt, Jani Soutzo. No one better than he possessed the talent of making hay, while the sun shone. In less than eight months, from a beggar he became a man of easy circumstances. Such were the abuses he committed, that, disregarding his Fanariot birth, Mavrocordato was obliged to dismiss him from his employment of Eparch of Anatolico; yet, shortly after his arrival at Anapli, instead of being brought to trial and punished, as he richly merited, this corrupt man was appointed Eparch of the province of Calavrita.

On the 9th of August, towards evening, an express from Mavrocordato arrived, informing me, that, having received intelligence, that Lord Charles Murray was detained by a serious illness, at Gastouni,

where there was no surgeon to attend him, he addressed himself to me, persuaded I would not hesitate to hasten to the assistance of one, who saved my life. Before daybreak I was at Mesolonghi; but the winds not favouring my impatience, we could not land at Chiarenza before ten at night. Unable at that hour to procure horses, I was obliged to wait till next morning (the 11th). On entering my friend's apartment, I saw, alas! that all hope had fled. The hiccup of death had already begun. He was lying in a profound comatose sleep, out of which no endeavours could rouse him. He expired an hour after. Providence had only reserved me the sad satisfaction of closing his eye-lids, and shedding the tear of friendship over his lifeless clay!

Anxious to return to Mesolonghi to inform Mavrocordato of the result of his mission to Anapli, Lord Charles insisted on travelling even during the hottest part of the day. He, in consequence, received a *coup de soleil*, which, predisposed as he had always been to cerebral affections, gave immediate rise to a violent phrenitis. He fell, unfortunately, on arriving at Gastouni, into the hands of a Cephaloniot empiric, who, instead of bleeding him and employing the strictest antiphlogistic treatment, administered to him an emetic, which could only aggravate the complaint. So totally had this truly noble man disregarded his own comforts, that on the Eparch making out an inventory of the effects he left, nothing was found in his portmanteau, but a couple of shirts, a pantaloon, a few stockings, a bible and prayer book, one dollar, and numerous mineralogical specimens. Every one suspected, that his servants had stolen the remaining linen and clothes; but two Greek gentlemen of respectability, who made the journey with him, assured me that they were little surprised to

see this; for, on many occasions, witnessing the miserable state of several Philhellenes, he gave them his own linen and money; and that no one ever applied to him for assistance, without receiving some proof of his charity. Indeed his liberality was not in proportion to his means; for several very just motives his father had limited his annual allowance to four hundred pounds; yet during his short stay at Mesolonghi he must have spent nearly the whole of that sum. He contributed to the erection of the Lunette in front of the fortifications of that town; and requested it might bear the name of William of Orange, to whose family he felt proud of being allied.

On my informing Sessini of the noble extraction of the deceased, of the zeal and devotedness, he had ever professed to promote the welfare of Greece, of his numerous virtues and amiable qualities, &c. he gave orders, that his funeral should be celebrated with all possible pomp; and that military honours should be paid over his grave. The archpriest Cyrillus pronounced on the occasion an impressive discourse. What an eloquent contrast might he not have instituted between the selfish, rapacious, feelings of those, that assisted at the ceremony, and those which animated this noble Philhellene! Not only had he volunteered into the service of their nation, without any other motive, than that of indulging the benevolence of his heart, and acquiring the satisfaction of having concurred to their regeneration; but he had sacrificed in this noble and disinterested pursuit, wealth, comforts, and at last his life. How could Sessini see, without blushing, this Englishman emptying his purse to relieve the necessities of Greeks, while he recalled to his mind the thousand acts of injustice, by which he had filled his coffers with the wealth of his own brethren!

Sessini, though above sixty years of age, retained all the vivacity and activity of youth, united to the garrulity of old age. Descended from a Venetian proveditore, he has inherited all the mercenary spirit and aristocratical disposition, characteristic of his forefather; and blended them with the cunning, penetration, versatility, and vices, peculiar to the Greek. Once a meagre apothecary at Gastouni, he declared himself the legitimate effendi, or lord, of that town and province, on the revolution taking place; and, deposing his professional arms, assumed the sword of vengeance. Placing himself with his two sons, at the head of a small corps of armed peasants, he drove the Turks from that part of the country, which, from that day, he declared as exclusively belonging to himself by right of conquest as well as of birth. He constantly sided with the faction of the capitani; and, during three years, collected without opposition the immense revenues of a district, the richest and most populous in the Morea.

The population of this district might be valued at twenty thousand souls. Its annual revenues under the Turks were estimated at two hundred thousand pounds. The markets of Zante and Cephalonia received from this province their chief supply in cattle, poultry, butter, cheese, honey; the larger portion of these articles being sold on Sessini's account, who sent his wife to the former island to receive the money. He frequently sent her over large sums; but, partly fearing to excite the notice of the Ionian governments, and partly to avoid the custom-house duty, he often concealed his gold in the butter or cheese, which he sent in presents to Madame Sessini. Two of these cheeses were, by some unaccountable mistake, sold to a Zantiot, who felt as delighted in

discovering in their interior little mines of gold, as Madame Sessini was vexed on detecting her error. She in vain applied to the police for restitution. It was replied to her representations, that since they were registered at the custom-house, as cheeses, they were legally bought as such, and that the loss of the money was a just punishment for the deceit, which she had practised so long on the government.

The wealth of Sessini was thought to amount to two millions of dollars. His manners, dress, and ideas were quite Turkish. He kept a harem of Musulmen women; and he insisted on those, who were in his immediate dependence, naming his sons Beizadè, when speaking of them; and Michal-Bey, or Chrysantho-Bey, when addressing them in person. These young men, though intrusted with the defence of Elis, against the incursions of the garrisons of Patras and its castle, were so remiss in their duty, that the enemy might, at all times, advance without opposition as far as Gastouni: and a few days previous, the Turks, in consequence, were enabled to surprise the inhabitants of Lechena, a village at an hour's distance from the town. After killing the men, they conveyed the women and children to Patras.

I met at Sessini's Mr. Polyzoidi, a gentleman, who accompanied the Greek deputies to London, and had returned to Peloponnesus with the first instalment of the Loan. Notwithstanding his strong attachment to the government, he condescended to partake of Sessini's antipatriotic fare; and in justice to Sessini, every one must confess, that, of all Greek capitani, he was by far the most hospitable. Mr. Polyzoidi, though a Logiotato, was very different from the generality of individuals belonging to that

class*, who may be considered as a compound of European depravity and Greek barbarism. Having exchanged the few good qualities, ignorance might give him, for the tinsel and quackery of learning and civilization, which he uses merely as a mantle, to conceal the deformity of inward corruption; he is, at bottom, as ambitious, as unjust, and as rapacious as any other; but he has become such a proficient in cant, that, if his drawling periods, in respect to virtue, were credited, even Phocion, or Aristides himself, would be esteemed his inferior. Possessing no other acquaintances, but what he may have picked up during a stay of two or three years at some university, or counting-house in Europe, he is full of conceit and presumption; has become a freethinker, runs down every religion; and expresses himself habitually in aphorisms, paradoxes and axioms, so Hellenic in the diction, that no one can understand them. Mathematics, classics, chemistry, geography, the most elementary, or the most abstruse sciences, are equally familiar to his knowledge. Politics and political economy are his favourite topics. Positive in all his assertions, he replies to any observation, however judicious, in so supercilious a manner, as if a god were condescending to speak with a mortal. Shoals of this mixed breed of mortals came out to Greece; and their intolerable impertinence was, no doubt, the principal cause of the dislike and contempt in which the uneducated part of the nation held the *civilized* Greek. Hence, though there were certainly among them some men of merit, they all shared the same fate.

Philhellenes have loudly complained of the un-

* The greater part of the Greeks, employed in the civil administration, belong to the class of Logiotati.

grateful conduct of the Greeks towards them. Some of their accusations are undoubtedly true; but others bear the character of exaggeration, imparted by disappointment in views not always the wisest. The greater part of their misfortunes, however, are attributable rather to the envious disposition of the Logiotati, than to the ill disposition of the common people, against foreigners. If the common peasant disregarded the Philhellene, his ignorance hindered him from appreciating the merits of the sacrifices the other had made; while the conduct of the Greeks, who had lived in Europe, arose entirely from malignity and envy.

CHAPTER XXI.

Encampment at Ligovitzi.

On my return to Mesolonghi, I learnt, that, after passing without the slightest opposition, the defiles of Macrinoro, and Caravansera, properly speaking the key of Acarnania, Omer Pasha had descended into the plain, and pitched his camp on the borders of the Lake of Larpi. His army amounted to ten thousand men, without reckoning the Greek Armatolis under the orders of Vernachiotti and Gogo; traitors, who, by passing over to the enemy's side, during the battle of Petta, became the principal cause of the defeat of their countrymen.

On receiving this information, the governor-general repaired in all haste to Ligovitzi, a central position, where he hoped to collect a force sufficient to check the enemy's progress. Now that the invasion had taken place, the governor-general did, at last, think of placing the country in a state of defence; but it was like shutting the door of the stable, after the horse had been stolen. For if Omer Pasha had judged it convenient to continue his march, he might, in less than three days, without striking a blow, have subdued the whole country to the very walls of Mesolonghi. It cannot be alleged in excuse of the Greeks, that they were not informed of the preparations of the enemy in time. Every one knew, that this pasha had received orders from the porte to co-operate with

Dervish Pasha of Larissa, who, a month before, had arrived at Amblani, not far from Salona. After sweeping the whole country before them, they were to unite their forces at Epacto, and, seconded by the fleet under the Capitan Pasha's orders, to undertake the siege of Mesolonghi.

But so inherent is want of foresight in the Greek character, so great is the blind confidence which a little success gives him, that, unless the blow be actually falling on his head, he will not think of avoiding it.

Rumours of war now assailed them from every quarter. Albania had already sent forth three armies. Negropont was preparing a fourth. Letter after letter gave information that the formidable Ibrahim had sailed from Egypt; their friends tremblingly entreated them to be on their guard; they requested them to consider, that this new opponent was not like those they had hitherto defeated; but was incalculably their superior in discipline, regular administration, unlimited wealth, exhaustless provisions, and submissive obedience. But no remonstrances could surmount the unaccountable indifference and contemptuous apathy, with which the whole mass of the nation, from the effeminate primate down to the lowest peasant, listened to these appalling news. In no country was less interest exhibited for Greece, than in Greece itself. A giant, informed of the machinations of a puny dwarf to destroy him, could not display more sovereign disregard. They compared the nation to a rock, against which the waves in vain exert their fury. "How can we fear?" I once heard a capitano say: "Almost unarmed, we have annihilated a whole Turkish population; taken fortresses; destroyed Dramali, and his thirty thousands, though led by seven pashas; repulsed Omer

Vrioni; Scondra Pasha; all the Rumeli Valèsis; in one word, in every encounter, whether by land or sea, have we not proved victorious? Let them but come again and again, we are in want of fresh booty. As for Ibrahim Pasha—can you suppose, our fleet will allow him to land in Peloponnesus? He could not lately even disembark a few of his soldiers on Samos. But even should he effect a landing, is not one Hellen a match for ten blind Arabs?"

All replies to these and similar declamations were without effect. Will the intoxicated listen to reason? In vain it was observed to them, that the success of their arms arose rather from the folly and ignorance of their enemy, than from the superiority of the Greeks; that, granting even their confidence justifiable, yet prudence was the mother of safety, and nothing was worse than to underrate our enemy.

The recent loss of Ipsara, Casso, Candia, Negropont, Suli, &c. was in vain brought to their recollection. The magistrates and soldiers were as unconcerned, and acted as thoughtlessly, as if the country enjoyed the most profound repose, and were in permanent security. The different fortresses were without garrisons or provisions; Mesolonghi was in the same state; and although the enemy was almost at its gates, no measures were taken to procure ammunition and put the place in a state of defence. Before the arrival of the Loan, the Greeks would have pleaded poverty as an excuse for their imprudence; now, that they had money, why did their conduct exhibit so little alteration?

Having received orders from the governor-general to join the army, in my quality of surgeon-in-chief, I proceeded in all haste to the head quarters. We slept the first night on the banks of the Achelous below Aspropotamo; and, next morning, arrived at

the convent where the prince and his staff had taken up their quarters.

Ligovitzi is a mountain about 1500 feet in height, rising at the north-western extremity of the plain of Vrachori. It is almost in the centre of Acarnania and Ætolia; ten leagues distant from Mesolonghi, and five from Caravansera. A lake and extensive morass defend the approach of its eastern skirts. Towards the south they are covered by a thick wood; on the north, access is less difficult. This position might, by proper intrenchments, have been rendered very strong. The ancients had built a fortified town on the insulated knoll, that crowns its summit; its walls were yet sufficiently preserved to afford a strong defence; eight hundred men belonging to Macri, Pesli, Staino Staico, Costa Veli, and Mr. Jarvis, had intrenched themselves behind them, amongst the steep rocks commanding the platform on which the church and monastery are erected. Five hundred men were charged with the defence of this last position. Want of water, however, prevented its being susceptible of offering a long resistance; and notwithstanding Mavrocordato's wishes to establish here a depôt for provisions and ammunition, his endeavours were fruitless.

All this arose from a vice in the distribution of the rations. The most honest capitano was only satisfied when he could give in treble the number of men, under his orders, and receive pay and provisions for the fictitious, as well as for the existing, soldiers. Others went further; and, not to multiply instances, I shall mention Capitan Ciaoushi, who had the impudence to present himself before Mavrocordato with five instead of fifty followers, for whom he daily received allowances. The important outpost of Machalà was occupied by a Chiliarch, who took rations

for thirty men; but on investigation, his company was found to consist merely of a palichari, an ass, and himself!

Thus nearly two-thirds of the provisions, brought to the camp, were regularly sent back by the same convoy that had brought them; and were sold at Anatolico, or any where else, for the benefit of the capitano and his favourites.

Vain was the attempt to put a stop to this abuse, by distributing to every man separately the ration, to which he was entitled. Vulpiotti, the commissary, having, in compliance with Mavrocordato's injunction, refused to Macri's men more than their proper share, was so ill-treated by their yataghans, that, during several days, he could not quit his bed. The other capitani, far from blaming this conduct, gave it plainly to be understood, that should the slightest alteration be made in the distribution of provisions, they would immediately quit the camp. They expressed much surprise to hear such a reform proposed, at a time when Alexachi Vlachopoulo continued to be the prince's favourite, and Cazzaro the captain of his own body guard, although he knew sufficiently well, that neither of them kept even one-fourth of the appointed soldiers. They observed to him bluntly, that before reforming others, he should begin by setting a good example himself, and look into his own household; where the most degrading and barefaced spirit of depredation and prodigality reigned; that he had surrounded himself with the most immoral and interested set of men, the dregs of the corruption of Wallachia; and that if he did not rob himself, yet, by allowing his retinue to do it, and partaking the fruit of their injustice, he forfeited all claims to his boasted integrity, and was at bottom no better than the rest.

Hence it may be seen, that the insolent capitani esteemed Mavrocordato's authority, in the light of a mere shadow. It became, indeed, the daily sport of their caprice; and was exposed to the grossest insults, which his hope of being useful to his country alone enabled him to bear with resignation. The common people partook, unfortunately, too much of the mode of thinking of the capitani, in regard to their governor. He had lost every consideration, because his authority never inspired fear, and because he never carried his threats or promises into execution. Few accused him of evil intentions; but every one looked upon him as the frogs in the fable looked on their logwood king.

Hence it arose, that the two proclamations, he issued from the monastery, produced no more effect than his other orders had done. In vain, did he threaten to punish those, who, capable of bearing arms, should refuse to listen to the appeal of their invaded country. Whosoever found it his interest to repair to Ligovitzi presented himself at the camp; but nine in ten consulted their personal safety by returning, some to Anatolico, Mesolonghi, and the islands, abounding in the Lake of Lesini, there loitering in the cafés; others to the plain of Vrachori, or the Ionian Islands; while the poorer classes removed, with their families and cattle, to the mountains of Cravari, Lidoriki or Apochoro. An appeal to the patriotism of the Etolians and Acarnanians was still more unsuccessful: it was an endeavour to rouse into vital action a corpse, from which the spark of life had long fled.

The private remonstrances and entreaties, Mavrocordato daily made to the capitani, tended only to render his presence in the army so intolerable, that they gave him to understand, that war not being his

department, matters would go on much better, if he would cease to interfere in their affairs; and allowing them to fight their own way, return to Mesolonghi, where he could be more useful, by providing measures to pay the troops, and supply them with ammunition and other necessaries.

Although Mavrocordato could not but feel, that he had become a mere cipher, he replied to the arguments of the capitani, that he acted as a keystone to keep them together. For he knew so well the jealousy and secret enmity, existing between them, that he was positive, that if he left the camp, they would all immediately disband; and each go his own way. If the dissolution of the army, which kept the enemy in countenance, took place, there was not a doubt but that the Albanians would instantly invade the country, and again destroy the harvests of its unfortunate inhabitants. Had Mavrocordato to do with a less demoralized band of barbarians, his counsels might have proved of essential service, since the plan of the campaign was well devised; but it is certain, that, had he even been the most consummate of generals, his orders would have been slighted in the same manner; and himself become the object of their mockery and derision.

CHAPTER XXII.

Neglect of the Greeks in guarding their outposts—Speech of the superior of a monastery—Conduct of the Greeks at Babini.

It will easily be credited, that amidst chiefs and soldiers imbued with these principles, neither order nor subordination could reign in our camp. Every one occupied the position, that best suited his taste. The most important were often abandoned as being more exposed or less convenient:—each, considering himself on a footing of equality, consulted his own pleasure, and that only in leaving or returning to the army, and disclaiming all obedience to superiors or deference to authority. Common security, it might be thought, should have made these men equally anxious to see the outposts well guarded. Yet so little attention was paid to this service, that almost every night considerable detachments entered and left the camp without being noticed. As this may appear incredible to those who have never been in a Greek camp, I shall corroborate my statement by relating the following fact.

I was sitting, with some other gentlemen, one evening, after supper, with Mavrocordato; and as we were engaged in an interesting conversation, we remained till after midnight. On a sudden, we heard numerous voices at the gate of the convent. Very much alarmed at this, one of the company looked out of a window, and announced that a large body of soldiers were endeavouring to force open the convent gate. Hardly had he spoken, when half a dozen

fierce-looking fellows rushed up the gallery, where we were sitting. Startled at first, I soon distinguished Stornari's secretary; who, addressing himself to Mavrocordato, delivered him despatches from his capitano. He had, although accompanied by two hundred soldiers, passed through the whole camp without being observed by a single sentinel! A party of Albanians, who are dressed exactly like the Greeks, might have surprised us in a similar manner.

So little did our capitani watch the movements of the enemy, that three days passed, after the departure of the Turks from Larpi, before the direction of their march could be ascertained. One afternoon, while Mavrocordato was directing his telescope towards every point of the compass, to find it out, one of the company made the following remark. "It must be confessed, that this Omer Pasha deserves to be emperor of conjurors, car voici trois jours, qu'il s'est escamoté avec ses dix mille hommes, sans que l'on puisse deviner où, ni comment." This remark made Mavrocordato look rather peevish.

The enemy continued to occupy his new position at Caravansera unmolested. We daily saw in the plain below small detachments of his cavalry strolling in every direction without the slightest attempt to restrain them. During the whole campaign, not a single Turkish head was brought to our camp; or a single soldier wounded by the enemy. The whole booty consisted in a few lame mules, taken by Carajanis' men. Yet the troops at Ligovitzi amounted on an average to upwards of 2000: Zonga occupied the conical hill of Aetos, with a body of 1000 strong. Profiting by the ancient walls, that crown its summit, he fortified himself in that position in a manner to render it impregnable to the Albanians.

The third corps of the army was in the Vatto,

under the command of Andrea Isco, who might have done the enemy much harm. Stornari, Liacata, and Rangos, had united their forces, which amounted to about 1200. But instead of attacking the enemy in the rear, they preferred, under the absurd pretence of operating a diversion, to fall on the unfortunate Rayas, who inhabited the villages in the Ragovitzi, and in the environs of Arta. They attempted to justify the thousand atrocities they committed on their coreligionaries by saying, that they had been commanded by their government to consider as the property of an enemy that of every Greek, who, instead of joining the standard of independence, continued to live under the authority of the Turks.

In one of these villages, where the inhabitants offered to resist, several were killed on both sides; among others, the first cousin of Rangos. Carefully avoiding every place, where they were likely to meet with Turks, they pillaged every Christian house where they knew they could get booty without danger. They respected nothing. The superior of a monastery which had, also, been plundered by these soldiers, came to Ligovitzi, in order to complain of their conduct, and to ask restitution of what the convent had lost. Seeing all his applications useless, he burst into a violent rage, and turning himself towards the soldiers, said: "Christians! you name yourselves; and the enemies of our faith could not treat us worse than you have. Regardless of sacrilege, you have polluted with impious steps the Holy of Holies. And your rapacious hands have robbed the sacred vases, consecrated to the service of the God, you pretend to adore. Tremble! for crimes do not lead to liberty; the merited curses and imprecations of your injured brethren will rise to heaven, and solicit revenge. To palliate your guilt, you call us Turcolatri; and blush

not to make a crime of our misfortune. Thus is injustice ever fertile in devising excuses. Innocence itself does not wear a more spotless robe than you. Have you forgotten how often, when your emissaries wished to induce us to rise in arms, we have informed you of the deplorable nature of our position? We sighed after the moment, when we could confidently join the standard of liberty; but, hitherto, necessity has forced us to dissimulate, and bear our chains, till the Greek government could send a force, sufficient to support us, and guarantee the safety of the weaker part of the population. Did we not constantly entreat you to consolidate yourselves, and hasten to our rescue? But how could you inspire us with confidence, when we observed your strength annihilated by discord and anarchy, and threatened on all sides by a formidable and persevering enemy? You have now again sent detachments into our country. They were received as friends; and yet have acted as depredators. Had the deluded peasant been rash enough to join them, the next day he would have seen himself, his property, and his family, abandoned to the mercy of our tyrants."

Mavrocordato knew not how to refute these too well founded invectives and accusations of the Caloyers. To get rid of his importunities, therefore, he gave him a letter for Rangos, which was only sending from bad to worse.

The troops at Ligovitzi, and at Aetos, could not, from want of opportunity, distinguish themselves by any glorious exploits. As no entreaty or persuasion could induce the capitani to undertake any aggression against the enemy, Mavrocordato directed their attention to the defensive, and exhorted them to fortify, to the utmost of their power, their respective positions. For there existed no doubt, but that they

would be attacked, if the enemy persisted in his resolution of proceeding to Epacto: as in that case he could not leave behind him such a large body of troops, which, if not driven off the field, might intercept his convoys and molest him in a thousand ways.

That all attempts of the enemy might be the more readily frustrated, a solemn bond was formed between the capitani of the two camps; and promises of mutual assistance in case of attack. Certain signals were fixed upon to announce the approach of the Turks; and, on their appearance, those, who should perceive the fires were, without delay, to march to support the others.

In the morning, three fires were perceived on the hill of Aetos. The capitani assembled immediately at the convent to deliberate which of them should put himself in march, and by whom our camp should be kept. Every one endeavoured to prove, more clamorously than his neighbour, that it was not fit, that he should go in preference to another. Mavrocordato, perceiving that the time was precious and not to be wasted in interminable disputes, rose, and said: "Gentlemen, as for me I shall go, and let whoever loves his country follow me."

In an instant, the whole army was in motion; and even those, who, a moment before, had been loudest in demanding to remain behind, were now among the foremost. In the same manner as at first no one would march; now, no one would remain. The camp was thus completely deserted. Hardly had we advanced half a league towards the plain of Babini, when Macri, who most unwillingly led the vanguard, ordered a halt. He assured every one, that he perceived the enemy's banners on the hill of Machalà; and that they were evidently advancing towards us. His men confirmed their general's opinion, and

although with the aid of a good telescope I could not distinguish any thing but brushwood, the words, "the Turks are coming," circulated from mouth to mouth, and the alarm spread itself like lightning throughout the ranks. "Let us go back;" "let us hasten to our tambouri," was the general voice. The prince spurred his horse, and flying back as if a squadron of Turkish cavalry had been at his heels, set the bad example. Panic-struck, the soldiers ran with the same pêle-mêle confusion, as if routed. Fortunately for Zonga, the Albanians were as little inclined to fight as the Greeks. Many of them were even his former friends: so, after remaining a few hours at the wells, that are at the foot of the hill of Aetos, they withdrew without even firing a gun; and advanced in search of booty towards Papadades, where they spent the night. The next morning, they proceeded to Babini, where they burnt the houses, and then returned to the general camp, by way of Larpi.

Had they been more inclined to fight, and had they only contented themselves with making intrenchments around and blockaded Zonga for five days, want of water would have compelled him either to surrender, or to force his way across their camp. Our troops were too *demoralisés*, ever to have mustered resolution enough to go to his assistance. Thus, the stupidity and singular apathy of the enemy, and a want of knowledge in respect to our weakness, proved our only safeguard. For, had they displayed the slightest judgment, merely by cutting off our communications with Mesolonghi and Anatolico, from which towns we received our daily supplies, they would have compelled us to abandon our position. After the taking of Tripolitza, the Greeks, to the number of 7000, undertook the siege of Patras. They had gained possession of the town, where they in-

trenched themselves, and established a battery, from which they began firing on the fortress. Youssouf Pasha, who was then at the castle of Morea, actuated by the most fanatical courage, and the contempt of the Giaours, placed himself at the head of 150 Delhis, determined to die for the faith, or drive away the besiegers. Arrived close to the town, he ordered the men to fire their muskets, in order to apprize the garrison of the fortress of their arrival; and without further delay, charged on the Greeks, who, panic-struck, fled without even offering the slightest resistance. Mavrocordato and Caradja, who had just arrived in Greece, lost every object they had brought with them. They owed their lives only to the swiftness of their horses. The Turks, after conveying to the fortress the booty they found on this occasion, reduced the town to ashes.

Mercenary feelings only actuated the Albanians; and fanaticism, which proves a never-failing stimulus to the true Osmanli's courage, has no effect whatever on them. Interest made them change their religion; and to gain money is the only article of their creed, and their guide in war. Far from wishing the extermination of the enemy, the Albanian apprehends nothing more than his destruction; because his services being then no longer required, he is compelled to return to the barren mountains, and being deprived of a most lucrative occupation, he thinks the destroying of the Greeks as irrational an act, as setting fire to his own harvest.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Peasants surprised by the Turks—Inhuman conduct of Macri—Jani Souka and his mistress.

THE only undertaking of any note, which took place during the whole of this pretended campaign, was an incursion towards Vrachori. Encouraged by the boasting assurances of the capitani, some of the poorer inhabitants of this once flourishing town were employed in reaping the Indian corn, which forms their chief nourishment. The enemy, they were told, was so closely surrounded on every side, and so attentively watched, that he could not make the slightest movement without being instantly perceived; that, far from thinking of advancing, he was rather meditating how to retreat without danger—they might, therefore, continue their agricultural occupations in perfect security.

But to their surprise and horror, they, one morning at daybreak, found themselves surrounded by a large body of Turkish cavalry. All the men were put to the sword; the women and children led into captivity! We saw from our camp large droves of oxen and sheep, escorted by horsemen, proceeding in the direction of Caravansera. At this sight our palicharis, after vociferating a long litany of injurious epithets and ridiculous menaces against the enemy, contented themselves with discharging their guns and pistols in the air. No one offered to descend into the plain to rescue the booty out of their hands.

Many smaller villages were plundered also by the

enemy: and in that of Calyvia, Achmet Pasha, nephew of Omer Pasha, surprised in the bed, which she occupied only for the third time, the lovely bride of a Greek Papà, who came shortly after to Ligovitzi, and endeavoured to excite the Greeks to fly to her rescue. His exhortations, however, were vain.

Towards the beginning of September, I was called to the assistance of two Anatolikiots, whom I found lying in an almost lifeless state; occasioned by a most inhuman bastinado, they had received from Macri and his men. The particulars of this fact will enable the reader to form some opinion as to the manner of administering justice in Greece. The establishment of juries was not even dreamed of. During a quarrel, which had arisen at Anatolico between some of the inhabitants and the lawless soldiers of Macri, some of the latter were wounded. As soon as this was reported to the capitano, he ordered his men to get under arms, and to accompany him to Anatolico. In vain did Mavrocordato, and the other chiefs, endeavour to soothe his anger, by representing to him, that the local authorities of Anatolico should be enjoined instantly to investigate the affair, and punish the delinquents with due severity; or to suspend his resolution, by pointing out the danger, to which he exposed the whole camp, by abandoning his position so suddenly when we expected daily to be attacked.

After a thousand difficulties, he consented to remain, on the promise that the Anatolikiots, who had wounded his men, should forthwith be brought to the camp, and tried before an assembly of capitani. The next morning an outpost, which he had purposely placed, came to apprize him of their approach. He went in person to meet them; and, without losing

time in cross questions, he constituted himself both judge and executioner. He caused the men to be extended on the ground, when he began, most unmercifully, to strike them with a ponderous club; till, tired of the exertion, he passed it into the hands of his soldiers, who continued, successively, to imitate his barbarous example; till these unfortunate men gave no longer any signs of life. Shortly after, one of them expired; and the whole integuments of the other's nates sphacelated so deeply, as to expose the glutœus muscle in its entire extent.

A considerable time elapsed before this terrible wound healed up. Macri then presented himself before Mavrocordato, and with the most satanic grin, informed him of the manner in which he had taken revenge on the Anatolikiots. The general was not in a situation to resent the insult, or to express to their brutal chief the indignation, his conduct had excited. He, therefore, thought proper to turn the conversation to another subject, as if nothing had taken place.

A few days after this, Jani Souka, a handsome Albanian Greek, who had deserted from Caravansera with his company of a hundred and fifty Lachiots, arrived at the camp. From the beginning of the revolution, he had, on every important occasion, fought against his coreligionaries, and behaved with so much activity and valour, as to gain the entire confidence of Omer Pasha and other Albanian chiefs. He was, in fact, so well treated by them, and enjoyed so much consideration, that the voice of patriotism alone would never have made any impression on his interested mind, had he not, at last, been caught by the lips of love. While in the Turkish camp, his mistress unexpectedly entered his tent; disguised as an Albanian page, she had fled from

Arta, and accompanied one of the capitano's men, whom he had sent to that town on an errand. She entreated her lover, in consideration of the irresistible motive that actuated her, to overlook her imprudence in taking such a step without first consulting him. She could not, she said, exist far from the man she loved. For his sake she had sacrificed every interest and consideration; and representing to him the danger, which would inevitably burst upon both their heads, were they to return to Albania, owing to the resentment of her relations, she urged him to join the Greeks. His qualities as a soldier would be as much prized and as well remunerated by them as they were by the pasha; and for the remainder of his days, he would enjoy, undisturbed, all the sweets of independence and love, the only real blessings of this life.

Jani Souka took her advice; and having fled to our camp, informed Mavrocordato with the state of the Turkish army; and at the same time dissipated our fears by relating to us the exaggerated ideas, the enemy entertained of our force. He informed us, too, that the interior of Albania was so much disturbed by dissensions and petty wars, that Omer Vrioni's attention was entirely directed towards that quarter; and as he himself said, thought of extinguishing the fire that threatened his own house, before he could think of saving his neighbour's. He judged it besides useless, to advance towards Mesolonghi before the arrival of the capitan Pasha's fleet; which, according to late information, was still in the waters of Mytilene.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Ligovitzi—Illness of Mavrocordato—Chrysovitza—Spiro Milio—Zagoriots or itinerary quacks.

Mavrocordato was now on the eve of departing for Ligovitzi. He therefore appointed a commission of three members, to act in his room during his absence. These members were, Praïdi, Jani Tricoupi, and Tazzi Mangina.

Ligovitzi, though about two thousand feet above the level of the sea, becomes towards the latter end of summer, and during the whole of the autumn, very unhealthy, on account of the miasmata, that emanate from the numerous extensive lakes in its neighbourhood. The soldiers soon began to experience their noxious influence, and were attacked with severe agues. Although the paroxysm yielded easily to bark, yet the continuance of the same causes of the complaint, inevitably brought on relapses, a few days after the patient looked upon himself as convalescent. To avoid this evil, the following method was adopted as soon as a fever made its appearance: a brisk emeto-cathartic was administered. The next day, if no further indication of cleansing the *primæ viæ* existed, sixteen drachms of bark were given; and the patient removed to some healthy village near Dragomesta, or in the Zugo mountains, where he was directed to take the medicine, prescribed, in two days. It may not be amiss here to remark, that repeated experience demonstrated that the febrifuge powers of bark were strikingly increased

by the addition of one-eighth of a grain of tartar-emetic to every drachm. Being myself attacked with the same complaint, I got rid of it quickly by following the treatment, which I had found so successful with my patients.

Scarcely was I convalescent, when notice was brought me that Mavrocordato had fallen seriously ill. With all possible haste I returned to the camp, and found him labouring under a bilious fever, brought on by the unwholesomeness of the water, the pestilential nature of the air at the convent, improper diet, and, above all, by the uninterrupted mental agitation, with which a thousand vexations hourly embittered his existence.

Convinced that, in this case, the removal of moral causes was of more importance, than medical treatment, or at least that the omission of the former would baffle the best directed efforts of the latter, I insisted on his leaving the camp instantly. He was consequently removed to Chrysovitza; a village four hours to the west of Ligovitzi.

The landscape around this place is beautiful; the ancient ruins crowning its insulated mountain, and overshadowed by the lofty oaks that adorn it, present a highly picturesque appearance. Xeromero (dry district) is the name, under which this part of the country is known, owing to the scarcity of water. On this account it is little cultivated; yet its hills and the country throughout are in general more wooded than any other parts of Greece. Its forests were the favourite retreats of the Kleftes, and are often celebrated in their songs, as the theatre of their encounters with the Armatolis.

A few days after our arrival in this village, Spiro Milio presented himself to Mavrocordato, with a

corps of two hundred picked Chimariots, the most martial-looking men in the whole army. They are not to be distinguished from Albanians, their dress and language being perfectly similar; but though their religion is Greek, they do not understand one syllable of Romaic. This young man belonged to some of the best families in the Chimara mountains. His uncle, who during many years served as major in the Albanian regiment in the service of Naples, took him, when a youth, over to that country, where he remained several years. Born in a country, the inaccessible nature of which had ever preserved it independent, he learned in Italy to appreciate the blessings of civil liberty; and education, by awakening patriotism, taught him his duty, stimulated his courage, and armed his hand. He explained to the capitani, who received him, the motives, by which he had been induced to leave his native mountains; why he had resolved to devote himself to the assistance of his coreligionaries, as long as the struggle, in which they were engaged, should last; and all this in a plain, unadorned manner, yet with a grace and dignity, a fluency and harmony that captivated all his hearers. To much penetration and judgment, he united a modesty, rare at his age, particularly among his countrymen. He was brave and disinterested; and every Philhellene, that knew him, could not forbear exclaiming, "Happy were Greece, did she possess more men like this!" Mavrocordato ordered him to repair with his men to the camp at Ligovitzi.

About this time, also, two very different individuals made their appearance at Chrysovitzi. The one Mr. Scoulo from Smyrna, a petit-maître; the other Mr. Constantine Polychroniades, an infirm pedagogue, sixty years of age. The former regaled us, during

three days, with his political dissertations and plans; but his remarks and conversation were characterized by the most disgusting vanity and pretension. Little inclined to relish the hardships of a Greek soldier's life, and finding the secondary situations, proposed to him by Mavrocordato, to be below his notice, he hastened to return to Mesolonghi, whence he proceeded to Anapli. The latter volunteered to act as Mavrocordato's secretary.

This gentleman was born at Zagori, a district not far from Ioanina, famous throughout the Levant for its breed of itinerant quacks. The male population consists solely of M.D.'s; Zagoriot and doctor being synonymes; and indeed, the medical profession becomes, in their hands, so lucrative, as entirely to supersede the necessity of any other. An idea of their wealth may be formed from their houses, which are well-built, spacious, and the best furnished in Turkey. When at home, they live like gentlemen at large.

It may not prove uninteresting to those, who wish to ascertain the state of medicine in Turkey, to hear some particulars relative to the education and qualifications, requisite to obtain a degree at this singular university. The first thing taught to the young men is the professional language; a dissonant jargon composed purposely to carry on their business, hold consultations, &c. without being understood by any being in existence but themselves. They are then taught reading sufficiently to decipher the pages of their ιατροσοφι, or manuscript, containing a selection of deceptive formulæ, for all possible diseases, incident to human nature. When a candidate has given before the elders proofs of his proficiency in these attainments, they declare him to be, *dignus entrare in docto nostro corpore;* and he then prepares to leave

Zagori. The Zagoriots generally travel about Turkey in small bands, composed of six or eight different individuals, each of whom has a separate part to perform, like strolling players. One is the Signor Dottore. He never enters a town, but mounted on a gaudy-caparisoned horse, dressed in long robes, with a round hat and neckcloth; never opening his mouth but *ex cathedrâ*, his movements are performed with due professional gravity, and he is at all times attended by his satellites. One is the apothecary; the second the dragoman; for it is the doctor's privilege not to comprehend a syllable of any other language but the Zagoriot; a third is the herald, who, endued with a surprising volubility of tongue, announces through the streets and in the public squares, the arrival of the incomparable doctor; enumerates the wonderful cures he has performed; and entreats the people to avail themselves of this providential opportunity: for not only does he possess secrets for the cure of actual diseases, but of insuring against their future attacks. He possesses the happy talent too of ingravidating the barren, and leaves it to their choice, to have male or female, &c. &c. He is skilled in the performance of operations for the stone, cataracts, hernia, dislocations, &c.

Two others, who pass under the denomination of servants, employ their time in going from house to house in quest of patients; and as, from their menial employment, they are thought to be disinterested, credit is the more easily given to their word. Thus they journey from town to town, hardly ever remaining more than a fortnight in any place. After a tour of five or six years, they return for a while to their families, and divide in equal shares the gains of their charlatanism. On a second journey, they all change parts, in order to escape detection. The dottore

yields his dignity to the servant, and does the same offices to him, as he was wont to receive; the dragoman becomes herald, the herald apothecary, &c.

The wealth of the Zagoriots attracted the cupidity of Ali Pasha. Some of the richest had time to escape over to Europe. The rest of the population had to pay the enormous impositions, this despot annually laid upon their province. For these motives, had Mr. Polychroniades fled from his country; but although during his prolonged stay in Europe he picked up some information, he did not yet become a great proficient in science, which indeed he only cultivated as a Zagoriot does medicine.

We were also honoured by the society of Mr. Prassino, eparch of Xeromero and Vonitza, who came to pay a visit to Mavrocordato, emissary of the Hetareia; he informed us of the apathy, testified by the Greek population to the calls of liberty, when before the bursting out of the revolution he travelled about the country, to ascertain the state of the public feeling. He never expected, he said, that, of their own accord, his countrymen would throw off the yoke, to which they seemed so well accustomed. Ali Pasha's death, and Sultan Mahmoud's cruel conduct towards the Greeks at Constantinople, and the clergy throughout Turkey, were the chief causes of the insurrection, according to his judgment.

There can be little doubt but the Albanian Pasha's long resistance and fall were the principal circumstances, which opened the eyes of the Greeks; by making them acquainted with the weakness of Turkey; and also by removing the only fear that could keep them under direct control. If Ali Pasha had continued to govern Albania, so universal was the dread of his power, that even the thought of a revolution would never have entered the minds of the Greeks;

or, most assuredly, if it had ever arisen, it would have been quelled in a moment, by the troops he could instantly have poured into the Morea, in the same manner as the insurrection of 1779.

Mr. Prassino had become civilized in Russia; not the best school certainly to learn liberal principles. He did not, at least, show himself better than the generality of Logiotati; hence, in the administration of his prefecture, he sacrificed every consideration to the shrine of self-interest. They did not act in so glaring a manner as the capitani; but, uniting more cunning to equal rapacity, they imitated those birds of prey, who profit by the obscurity and silence of night, to commit the greater havoc.

CHAPTER XXV.

Author, &c. arrive at Anatolico—Character of Porphyrius—Phoca—Adventure of Giulbeyaz—Meeting of the assembly—Subjects debated—Prefectures—Author determines on going to Athens.

HARDLY had a week elapsed after Mavrocordato's departure from Ligovitzi, when the principal capitani (στρατηγοὶ) began, one after the other, to leave the camp; showing how little they cared about the late proclamation of the government, which threatened every capitano, who should, without permission, abandon his post, with loss of all his dignities, and the severest punishment. Macri, as usual, was among the first to show the bad example. Under pretence of revenging the death of a nephew of Dova, his protopalichari, who in a drunken party had been killed by some Mesolonghiots, he advanced with his men towards Mesolonghi; and during several days blockaded it by land. Hardly five hundred men remained at Ligovitzi.

Providentially for Acarnania and Ætolia, the same spirit of dissension and anarchy existed in the enemy's camp; the attention of every Albanian, therefore, was directed to the disturbances which agitated the interior of his country. Hassan Bey and many of the petty chiefs had united with Silictar Potha, who had entered into open hostilities with Omer Pasha. They were all impatient to return home. The rainy season, which, this year, set in earlier than usual, made them grow louder and louder in their demands; but as soon as information was brought to their camp,

that Dervish Pasha had returned from Amblani to Larissa, they would no longer be retained. In the first days of November they repassed the defiles of Macrinoro, without being any more molested by the Greeks, than at their arrival; for, punctual to his engagement with them, Andrea Isca purposely left the pass unguarded, which he had sworn to Mavrocordato he would defend.

The day after the arrival of this news, we gladly left the miserable huts we lodged in at Chrysovitzi; and, after passing the Achelous at Gouria, spent the night in that village. The next morning we arrived at Anatolico. Before arriving at the ferry, we passed through the encampment, which had been occupied by Scondra Pasha's army on the preceding year. Judging from the graves, he must have lost before this town about one thousand two hundred men. An old man in the ferry-boat related, that, when a youth, he accompanied the pasha in his expedition against Anatolico in 1770, when its inhabitants had revolted and put to death the few Turks, who lived in its interior. Two thousand horsemen were sent to punish them; but their attempts would have been vain, had not, at this very moment, the unfortunate coincidence taken place of a strong north-east wind continuing with unabated violence for the space of three weeks. The waters became at last so shallow, as to allow the cavalry, though with some difficulty, to ford across into the town, which they completely sacked.

The authenticity of this fact was confirmed by several of the oldest inhabitants, who, by a timely flight, escaped the general massacre. This town, though dirty, contained several houses finer than any at Mesolonghi, the produce of their extensive fisheries, olive grounds, vineyards, gardens, &c. having enriched several of its inhabitants. The town had

been but slightly injured by the enemy's artillery during the late siege; the house, which had suffered most, being that of Capitan Rangos, a native of this place. Had I not become, in some measure, accustomed to the extreme supineness of the Greeks, I might have felt surprised in observing, how completely the defence of this important spot had been neglected. Last year's experience had been of no use to the inhabitants. The batteries were in the very same disordered state, as when the last cannon was fired from them. The only fortification, that had been finished, during so long an interval of peace, was a *lunette* in front of the spring, (cephalo-vrissi,) to which the inhabitants are obliged to repair in boats for their supply of water; that from the wells in the town being brackish. This work was nothing but a job, proposed by the prefect Sutzo; and, as events proved, it was calculated to do more harm than good.

In 1825, as soon as the vanguard of Roushid Pasha appeared before it, the Anatolikiots, who served its two miserable cannons, embarked precipitately; and the Turks, after becoming masters of it, placed in their stead pieces of larger calibre, with which they effectually prevented the approach of every boat. Thus did the inhabitants see their supply of water cut off through their own want of reflection; and perceived, at the same time, that they had prepared rods for their own backs.

During my stay at Anatolico, which was prolonged more than we expected, owing to Mavrocordato's relapse, I became acquainted with Porphyrius, archbishop of Arta; a proud, ambitious prelate, who had hitherto warmly espoused the party, hostile to government. His intimate friend and confident was Mega Pano, the first cogiabashi of Vrachori, a man the

very picture of Harpagon. Before the revolution, he had accumulated considerable wealth. Indeed his rapacity was so well known, that no one dared to appear before him without a present. By so many years' practice, he had contracted such a habit of receiving, that whenever any one called upon him, he would, instead of wishing him good morning, ask him: "What have you brought me here, my lad?" Nor could he ever after leave off that phrase. These two individuals were continually together, bitterly lamenting the good old times.

One day I felt not a little surprised in meeting here an acquaintance of mine, Jerasimo Phoca, a Cephaloniot nobleman, running about the streets as if bewildered. I took him aside, and insisted on knowing what had happened to him. He gave me then the following interesting narrative, which will serve to elucidate the lawless state of Greek society, at this moment.

Some Mesolonghiots, in crossing over to the Morea, were taken by the Turks, and led to Patras. When on the point of being beheaded, they informed the pasha, that, as there existed yet at Mesolonghi several Turkish women, if he consented, their townsmen would readily send them in exchange. This proposal being accepted, the Greeks hastened to inform their relations of the transaction; requesting them to bring every Turkish female to Crio Nero, the place appointed for making the exchange. Phoca lived with a beautiful Turkish girl, whom he had saved with her mother, from the general massacre at Navarino. When the Mesolonghiots requested him to give her up, he informed her of it; leaving it entirely to her choice, to remain with him, or to return among Musulmen. She fell affectionately on his neck, and besought him to allow her to remain with

been but slightly injured by the enemy's artillery during the late siege; the house, which had suffered most, being that of Capitan Rangos, a native of this place. Had I not become, in some measure, accustomed to the extreme supineness of the Greeks, I might have felt surprised in observing, how completely the defence of this important spot had been neglected. Last year's experience had been of no use to the inhabitants. The batteries were in the very same disordered state, as when the last cannon was fired from them. The only fortification, that had been finished, during so long an interval of peace, was a *lunette* in front of the spring, (cephalo-vrissi,) to which the inhabitants are obliged to repair in boats for their supply of water; that from the wells in the town being brackish. This work was nothing but a job, proposed by the prefect Sutzo; and, as events proved, it was calculated to do more harm than good.

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He was a man, who united modesty to bravery; and, what is not a little to his credit, it was from the mouth of a Turk, I heard the panegyric of his valour. Negip Effendi too, the most enlightened of the Lalliot chiefs, highly extolled his gallant conduct, as well as that of the Cephaloniots, when the Greeks undertook to attack Lalla.

Hardly was Mavrocordato recovered from his dangerous and protracted illness, when he invited the capitani and prefects of Western Greece* to meet in general assembly at Anatolico; and every prefecture was invited to send deputies. Those, who recollected the transactions of the meeting, held, the preceding year, at Mesolonghi, and had witnessed the total disregard, in which every one afterwards held the various decrees, then enacted, could not but wonder how, with all his sagacity, the governor-general should again propose a reunion of the same persons, which could only lead to results as illusory, and at the same time expose his own insignificance more and

* Western Greece was divided into the following prefectures; and as it may be acceptable to many to know the names of their respective capitani and eparchs, I subjoin them.

	Capitani.	*Eparchs.*
1. Xeromero,	Zonga,	Prassino.
2. Vlocho,	Vlachopoulo,	Demetri.
3. Valto,	Andrea Isco,	
4. Zugo,	Dem. Macri,	None.
5. Apochoro,	Christo Macri,	Ep. Mavromati.
6. Venetico,	Zangana,	Phoca.
7. Carpenisi,	Yoldasi,	Dem. Colocythopoulo.
8. Cravari,	Saphaca,	G. Platanioti.
9. Malandrino,		Pappagiorgi.
10. Agrapha,	Rango,	
11. Anatolico,	Soliri Yoti,	J. Sutzo.
12. Lidoriki,	Dinco Scaltra,	
13. Aspropotamo,	Stornari,	
14. Patraziki,	None fixed,	Ditto.

more. From the proceedings of the assembly it appeared, however, that his only objects in convoking it, were: to ascertain the dispositions of the chiefs towards government, and to judge how far it could rely, in a case of actual emergency, on the co-operation of the population of this part of Greece against the rebel capitani of Peloponnesus; and secondly, to apprize them, that, being recalled to the seat of government, he could not continue to be their governor any longer. His absence had been strongly felt by Conduriotti, a man who, having received no other education than that of a merchant-captain, at Hydra, was totally ignorant of the details and practical part of civil administration.

No one could afford him greater assistance, than Mavrocordato in the performance of the arduous task he had undertaken. He knew the patriotic nature of his sentiments, and that there existed not in Greece a more zealous friend to order. General Zonga was appointed president of the assembly, which was so numerous as to be held in a church. Polychroniades acted as secretary; though he neither wrote nor spoke without consulting Mavrocordato; who, on this occasion, did not present himself before the meeting, as his republican character would have led him to do; but contented himself with the less conspicuous, but not less important, part of prompter and manager. And it was in conformity with his directions, that the following articles were submitted to the consideration of the assembly.

A. To examine the decisions of the assembly, convoked in 1823, at Mesolonghi; in order to ascertain which have and which have not been infringed; and also why, and by whom, they have not been observed; in order that necessary measures may be adopted.

B. To examine and calculate the revenues of

Western Greece; what sums have been sent to it by Government; how they have been expended, and if abuses are detected in the administration of the finances, to point out the manner of preventing them in future.

C. To devise the means of procuring the pay and provisions, necessary for the army.

D. To take into consideration, how the national affairs may be settled.

E. To receive every petition or report, that relates to the public weal, that the assembly may decide, which is the general and which the individual opinion.

The first article was soon disposed of; for all the judges were guilty; and if mention of punishment had been made, the condemned might with security have defied justice, by crying; "let him, who feels himself innocent, cast the first stone."

The second article gave rise to a more prolonged discussion; and it was proposed, as the only satisfactory manner of ascertaining the matter in question, to order Luriotti, the treasurer, to produce his accounts. The gross immorality of this man was notorious, and his abuses of the most flagrant nature; yet, as he was a protegé of Mavrocordato's, the friends of the latter shamelessly observed, that the assembly having no right to make such an investigation, they should rather request the governor-general to examine, with the assistance of the treasurer, the state of the revenues and expenditures of Western Greece; and, should he detect any inaccuracy in them, to inform them of it, that they might adopt the necessary measures.

The attention of the assembly was afterwards earnestly employed in considering the actual state of things in Peloponnesus; where the government had,

at last, engaged in open war with the faction of the capitani. Although the military chiefs of continental Greece, actuated at bottom by the same despotic and interested principles, would, had circumstances equally favoured them, have acted precisely in the same manner, as their brethren in Peloponnesus, and had in fact, on every possible occasion, imitated their unjust proceedings; yet they now clamorously inveighed against them; and those were loudest in their reproaches, who, had their own conduct been scrutinized, most justly deserved their application. Neither patriotism, nor attachment to the constitution, influenced their decisions. Their interests, nay their very existence, were linked to the triumph of the government; the idea of a *sovereign* electrified them. They all entertained the enticing hope not only of being admitted to a share of the golden fleece, but also of possessing themselves of the riches and properties of the rebels. An address to the government was signed by every member of the assembly; assuring it of the entire devotedness of the inhabitants of Western Greece; and expressing the earnest vows, they formed, of seeing under its auspices the reign of the law established on the ruin of every faction. They asserted, at the same time, their readiness to defend the constitution at the risk of their lives and fortunes.

Several individuals, in conformity with Mavrocordato's private instructions, observed, that, in such a conjuncture, deeds rather than words being necessary, the most acceptable assurance of their attachment to the government, would be the sending over to its assistance a chosen body of soldiers, led by men who united energy to patriotism. But as no one could be a more competent judge of the numbers, requisite, and of the dispositions of the chiefs, best qualified to

acquit themselves of this important duty, they strongly urged, that the matter should be referred to the decision of the governor-general. He immediately selected, in consequence, eight hundred of the best soldiers, and appointed the capitani to command them, on whom he could most rely. These capitani were preparing to cross over to Peloponnesus, when notice arrived, that the vigorous means, resorted to by the government, had every where proved successful. The rebels, discomfited by the Roumeliot troops, were flying in all directions to escape the sword of justice, which pursued them.

While the assembly was holding one of its sittings (December 21st) a Moriot entered the church, who, after announcing that he came from Procopanisto, where Zaimi, Londo, Nicita, and M. Sessini had just arrived, delivered a letter to Zonga, who caused it to be read to all present. The purport of this letter was to request an asylum till their conduct should be examined by competent judges.

This letter produced a strong sensation; but the assembly, after much deliberation, resolved to answer, that they could not interfere; but that the capitani, like other citizens, must submit to the orders of government, and wait the sentence of the law.

Although every capitano signed this letter, which was composed by Mavrocordato, there was hardly one of them, whose private opinion was not in direct opposition to the sentiments it expressed. The individual, who delivered it into the hands of Zaimi*, verbally informed him, on Zonga's part, that he,

* When Omer Pasha besieged Mesolonghi in 1822, Zaimi, Londo, Nicitus, and Mavromichali were the principal chiefs, who, on hearing of its distressing position, crossed over from Peloponnesus with reinforcements; and contributed chiefly to defeat the attempt, made on the Greek Christmas-night, to take the town by storm.

and his companions in misfortune, might rely on his inviolable friendship. He invited them to come to the village of Gouria, where, under pretence of keeping them in custody, but in reality for their protection and safety, he would leave a detachment under the orders of his nephew. He assured them, moreover, that, faithful to the laws of hospitality, he would defend them against their enemies, as long as they remained in the province of Xeromero; and if it were impossible to reconcile them with government, or to avoid any longer its pursuit, he pledged himself to facilitate the means of escape. Relying entirely on Zonga's word, they proceeded without hesitation to Gouria.

Information having, soon after, reached him of the arbitrary and ignominious manner, in which the Moriot chiefs had been treated by Conduriotti, and that orders for the immediate apprehension of his guests had been sent to Mavrocordato, he apprized them of the danger of their position, and accompanied them in person to the place of embarkation. He would not, however, allow Nicita to follow them; but wrote to government, that he held himself responsible for that brave but weak-headed soldier.

The year 1824 could not terminate in a more fortunate manner for the constitutional party in Greece, or the energetic measures adopted by the executive body be crowned with success more complete and more rapid. Conduriotti and Coletti, its most resolute members, perceiving that nothing, but the total destruction of the capitani, could ever pave the way to the establishment of order in the country, determined on giving them the fatal blow. Availing themselves of the moment, the enemy had retired from the confines of continental Greece, bribed the Roumeliots suddenly to invade the Peloponnesus,

and depose its native chiefs. Goura, of whose notorious perfidy they had lately profited, to rescue Athens from his friend Odysseus, who had hitherto usurped the whole of Eastern Greece, instantly obeyed the orders for passing the Isthmus, and entered the Morea with a corps of three thousand men. Caratassoe, Catzico Jani also accompanied him. Dyonysi Evmorphopoulo, who commanded the province of Megaris and the Derveni, followed him with one thousand five hundred more. They immediately occupied Tricala, the seat of the Notara family, and the troops, commanded by Jani and Sotiri Notara, were completely routed, after a feeble resistance.

Without losing a moment, they marched on Calavita; whence they drove the adherents of Zaimi; and after leaving there a considerable detachment under the Suliot, Lambro Veico, he advanced towards Gastouni, and not only took possession of the town but the whole province without opposition. Sessini, the father, narrowly escaped falling into his hands; and precipitately embarked for Zante; where, the local authorities refusing to allow him to land, he saw no other party left; but following the example of the other Moriot chiefs, and passing to Anapli, to place himself at the disposal of government. Kitso Zavella, Caraiscachi, and all the Suliots, who had opposed Dervish Pasha at Amblani, in conformity with the orders of the executive, crossed the Corinthian gulf; and, after landing at Vostitza, pursued Londo, Michael Sessini, Zaimi, Nicitura, &c. with so much ardour, that, to avoid falling into their hands, they judged it expedient to embark for Mesolonghi, as we have stated. Chaye Cristo with his Bulgarians, Macrojani, Coletti, Spiliotachi Pa-

paflessa, and other capitani, inundated the provinces of Caritena and Arcadia; and so suddenly, that the Dehli Janei and Colocotrone himself, abandoned by their terrified followers, were constrained to submit and implore the mercy of government. These proud and insolent men were thus reduced in a few weeks by the authority, they had so often insulted and threatened to overthrow. They were imprisoned in a monastery at Hydra, and there left to await the punishment demanded, by their numberless crimes.

Early in 1825, in compliance with the orders of the senate, which recalled him to Anapli, there to fill the post of secretary of state, the governor-general of Western Greece bade adieu to his provinces. Great indulgence should mitigate the censure, which has been laid upon him, for leaving things in the most complete disorder; but, destitute of pecuniary means as well as of military force, how was it possible to satisfy the endless exorbitant claims, addressed to him daily from all quarters?

Weighty reasons not allowing me to accompany Mavrocordato, I obtained from him before his departure the promise of being appointed to the expedition against Patras; which, for the last two months, had been announced, and might have been undertaken, had not a civil war broke out in Peloponnesus. It was now spoken of, as on the eve of taking place. Towards the middle of December, the arrival of a division of the fleet before the entrance of the gulf, and the proclamation, by which the commodore declared the four Turkish fortresses in a state of blockade, seemed to leave no doubt, that this essential undertaking, so shamefully postponed, would be entered upon at last. I proposed, therefore, as soon as the besieging troops should approach

Patras, crossing over to the Morea, and joining the army.

Finding, however, that a considerable delay would ensue, before the troops were collected, and seeing the ships return to Hydra, in January; I thought I could not, in the mean while, employ my time better than in visiting Athens, and the seat of government, Anapli.

CHAPTER XXVI.

Account of the police and administration of justice at Mesolonghi—Revenues—Corinth—Dreadful scene there—Author arrives at Megara.

HAVING made no mention of the police, or administration of justice, at Mesolonghi, it may not be amiss to dedicate a few words to these subjects. Instances having, however, more power of communicating ideas, than the minutest descriptions and definitions, I shall relate a fact which will precisely show, that in the cities as well as in the country, the most trifling, as well as the most weighty matters were decided by force, and that nothing but the shadow of judicial institutions existed in Greece. A person, not in the easiest circumstances, had sent a horse out to grass, and paid so much a month beforehand to the man who kept it. After three months, persuaded, that the animal had grown sufficiently strong, the owner sent for it; but, instead of finding it improved, as he expected, it was evident that it had been most cruelly worked. Its hoofs were almost entirely worn out, and its back covered with sores. Complaints of this being lodged before the *astynomi*, or police magistrates, they condemned the horse-keeper to pay for the beast, which he had ruined by employing it, as he himself confessed, in an oil-mill. Under the pretence of going to bring the money, the condemned called on a relation, who served as janissary, or armed constable, under the orders of the politarch, Mitzo Machaliotti; and having obtained the assurance of his protection, sent

word to the police-officers, that, if they chose, they might come and take the sum demanded. They went; but after repeated applications to Mitzo Machaliotti, all they could obtain was an answer, that he would never do any thing, that might serve to alienate the affection of his men. In consequence of this, the poor claimant was advised by the magistrates themselves quietly to put up with his loss; and this they did to avoid incurring any resentment from the janissaries.

During my stay in Western Greece, upwards of twenty assassinations were committed at Mesolonghi and Anatolico; yet, in no single instance, were the murderers punished. They even continued to walk about the bazaars, as if nothing had happened. And the very corps, which had been created to maintain the public peace, was the cause of the daily quarrels and riots which disturbed it.

As to the administration of the finances, with an unprincipled man, like Luriotti, at the head, it was corrupted by the same spirit of rapacity every where prevalent in Greece. Hence it was impossible precisely to estimate the revenues of Anatolico and Mesolonghi; the state of things rendering the amount of the receipts continually fluctuating; while an almost impenetrable veil kept the subject from public investigation. The following estimate, however, will be found nearly correct.

	Sp. dollars.
Fisheries and salt-works - - - - - -	20,000
Custom-houses - - - - - - -	10,000
Currants, vine and olive yards, belonging to Turks	10,000
A tenth from the produce of Zugo and the province of Anatolico - - - - -	8,000
Tax on sheep, &c. &c. - - - - -	3,000
	51,000

The revenues from the provinces were still more uncertain; being regulated by the presence or absence of the enemy. Had the administrators been honest, they might, on an average, have amounted to ten thousand dollars per annum, even under the worst circumstances, that had hitherto taken place.

In the beginning of February I left Mesolonghi in company with several Greeks, most of whom were repairing to Anapli, to solicit the payment of their arrears; and others, aware of the good opinion in which government held the Roumeliots, to obtain appointments to some of the numerous places which, by the late events, had become vacant. Two of the company were gigantic Servians, who, a few days before, had arrived in Greece, to serve under the banners of the Bulgarian Chagi Cristo.

After crossing the ford of the Evenus at Bochori, a large village, built opposite to the strikingly picturesque mountain of Galata, we followed the road to Galanidi. Our first day's march lay through a country, which still exhibited the melancholy stamps of the invader's presence. In some places even the traces of former habitations were no longer to be seen; so that we were compelled, notwithstanding the severity of the weather, to pass the night in the open air, near Cavro-limni, not far from the ruins of Calydon. On the following day, in order to avoid approaching too near the fortress of Epacto, the garrison of which made frequent excursions, our guides led us through roads amidst mountains covered with snow; the steepest I ever beheld. Night drew on, but no place appeared where we could repair the fatigues of this journey; we therefore went on, till about two hours after dark, when we distinguished a few lights in a hamlet, situated on a very elevated

position. It was, we were told, the first village of Cravari* named, if I am not mistaken, Visitza.

We had almost attained the summit of this ascent, and were returning thanks to Providence, for having safely led us to the end of our march, when a lively discharge of musketry and the whizzing of balls apprised us, that we had reckoned without our hosts. In vain we vociferated we were friends. It was replied, that, friends or Turks, they would not admit us into the village. After much expostulation we were at last allowed to take up our abode in a church, that stood about two hundred yards below the houses. Fatigue made its earthen floor appear softer than a bed of down. The next morning, on our reproaching the inhabitants with their inhospitable conduct, they replied, that, a few days previous, they had suffered so much from the rapacity and licentiousness of a band of palicharis; that they had formed a resolution ever after to defend by open force the entry into their village, to every armed body of men.

We did not reach Trizoni till two days after; where, finding a boat for Vostitza, we crossed the gulf and landed close to the magnificent platano which overshades its beach†. The town, which formerly consisted of about six hundred houses, was burned by the kiaja of Courshid Pasha in 1821; and the spot is

* The inhabitants of this mountainous province follow no other profession but that of beggars; a most lucrative one, if we may judge from the fine houses they possess, and the comfortable manner in which they live. A return to their country operates most miraculously on them; the blind recovering their sight; the dumb the use of their tongue; the crippled that of their limbs.

† The trunk of this tree is about forty feet in circumference; its branches are covered with the most luxuriant foliage, spread at least sixty feet on every side; and under the shade of which flows an abundant fountain of delicious water.

still shown, where that barbarous Musulman roasted two of the primates of that place alive.

Londo, the capitano of this province, had been replaced by his colonel, who passed over to the government party. I called upon him at the moment in which he was preparing to repair to the derveni beyond Lampiri, to inspect the troops, which he had placed there, to prevent the excursions of the garrison of Patras. I paid, also, a visit to the eparch, a young man who received me with a haughtiness, etiquette, and aristocratical *ton*, unmatched by the proudest Turkish pasha.

The *apocreas* of the week preceding Lent had just begun, when I landed here. During this time every Greek religiously abstains from work, and employs his time in revelry and merriment. Finding it impossible to engage my servant and guide to accompany me, I resolved to take part in their amusements; and I did it the more willingly, as such unguarded moments of joy afford the best opportunity of observing the real character of a nation.

On Ash Wednesday we set off for Corinth; distant about eighteen leagues: a description of this beautiful road, which winds along the borders of the gulf, may be seen in so many books of travels, that I shall not stop to describe it. The numerous villages, once lying along this tract of country, were destroyed by the enemy; but the bones of ten thousand Musulmen, who, after Dramali's defeat, vainly endeavouring to make their way to Patras, expired in all the tortures of inanition, on the banks of the river Crathis, and about the khan of Acrata, sufficiently atoned for the devastations of their countrymen*.

* His fury, after all, did no great injury to the inhabitants of this part of Greece, they having taken shelter in the mountains,

Nothing can exceed the melancholy picture, exhibited by Corinth. Its streets were literally so choked up with the skeletons of men and animals, that the stranger could not avoid treading upon them at every step. The deepest silence presided over this dreadful scene. The dissonant cries of vultures and the howl of jackalls, however, served to render this silence still more impressive and affecting.

In the midst of this desolation, an object which could not fail to excite a strong sensation, and awaken a long train of sad reflections, was the temple of Neptune, the columns of which, russet-clad with age, overlooked the modern ruins. Generation has succeeded generation, nation has expelled nation, cities have repeatedly arisen on the foundations of cities, but these have stood the shock of destruction, which though it acted all-powerfully around, appears to have stopped perpetually at its base.

Capitan Torgachi, the brother of the famous Vasiliki, concubine of Ali Pasha, commanded the Acro-Corinthis. He had lately rejected with disdain the proposal, made to him by the rebel capitani, to surrender it. The garrison amounted now to two hundred men; and the provisions in the fortress were sufficient to maintain this number of soldiers for four months; but, from the moral disposition of the

till the storm was over. The chief source of their wealth, the currant plantations, were not injured in the slightest degree; and, as I journeyed along, I hourly saw the peasantry busily employed in pruning the plants and digging the ground around their roots. The revenues, which government nominally derived from this district, were considerable; as the eparchs received three parts out of five of the produce of the currant vineyards formerly belonging to the Turks, i. e. upwards of two-thirds. Every one knows the high price, obtained for this article in the English markets. The amount of the products of this district, and that of Calavrita, is valued by Pouqueville at 1,486,000 francs.

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CHAPTER XXVII.

Author arrives at Athens—Its moral and political condition.

We descended from Megara* to the perama, or ferry, and thence to Salamine, named by the moderns Couluri. This island, in itself barren and unproductive, had become a place of refuge for the whole population of Eastern Greece, whenever the enemy threatened to invade it. I spent a day at the house of the governor, a worthy old Hydriot; and then proceeded to Ampelachia, where boats are in constant readiness for the Piræus. This port had, by a late decree of the senate, been yielded to the Ipsariots, who had requested it, in order to build a town where they might establish themselves with their families. Aware of the advantages, which the commercial spirit of

* The produce of Megaris consisted chiefly in oil, turpentine, resin, pitch, timber, and valonea. This district was the only one where the Turks had no property, and where, consequently, government received only a tenth of the whole. The inhabitants of Condoura, Megara, and the Derveno-Choria (all of Albanian extraction) were, before the revolution, exempt from taxes; and having no Musulman established in their interior, they were merely bound to furnish a certain number of men for the defence of the passes. The insurrection of the Greeks had brought upon them a thousand evils; and, instead of improving their condition, subjected them to vexations from the eparch and capitano, sent by government to make them acquainted with the blessings of liberty. How often have I heard them curse the day and the hour when the revolution first broke out!

those islanders would indubitably bring on their town and surrounding country, the Athenians nevertheless reflected on the many evils and inconveniences which the neighbourhood of this turbulent and barbarous population might produce; since the little trade, existing in the country, would pass entirely into their hands; and thus, instead of the Piræus depending upon Athens, Athens would depend on the Piræus.

Volumes have been written on this city; and every author has carefully sought to transmit to posterity the sentiments, inspired in his mind by the contemplation of the magnificent ruins of its monuments, which, even in a dilapidated state, please and astonish more than the most perfect of our modern fabrics. Aware, that I am unable to add one iota to the stock of information relative to the antiquities of this city; and not having sufficient presumption to suppose, that the feelings an insignificant individual like myself experienced on beholding them for the first time, can interest any one, besides the observer, I shall make no remarks on the antiquities of the city. I shall confine myself, therefore, to its moral and political condition at the time I visited it.

A stranger could not, after a very short examination, refrain from esteeming the population at least fifty years advanced in point of civilization before the rest of the Greeks. The streets were not disgustingly filthy, as in every other town; the houses were much neater, better built, and furnished; hospitality was every where showed him; and an earnest wish to oblige every where evident. The manners and language of the females too were infinitely softer and more elegant; and every citizen, friend to good order, peaceably followed his daily occupation. The vigilant and severe police, established by Odysseus, no less than

the mild and inoffensive temper of the Athenians, prevented their walls from becoming, as in other parts of Greece, the theatre of continual disturbances, riots, and assassinations. Whatever blame this chief may deserve for his despotic principles and criminal actions, the inhabitants of Attica, when comparing their fate with that of other provinces, could not refrain nevertheless from consoling themselves under his despotism by the knowledge, that, after all, the sway of an autocrat occasions, incomparably, fewer and lesser evils, than the reign of anarchy.

The actual Eparch of Attica was Michael Soutzo, one of the few Fanariots, endued with probity and patriotic virtue. Thanks to his enlightened views, the education of the rising generation became one of the chief objects of his care; and, seconded by the primates, he established a Lancasterian school, and another which was chiefly maintained at the expense of the Philo-Muse Society. In these schools five hundred boys received daily instruction.

A few days after my arrival, the whole city was thrown into the greatest alarm, by the news, that Odysseus had appeared with a considerable body of men in the plain of Marathon, and seized the cattle belonging to the Athenians. A peasant, soon after, brought a letter, addressed to the magistrates; in which, after bitterly reproaching them with their ingratitude, he demanded the payment of twenty thousand dollars, which the town, he said, owed him, for the numerous repairs and improvements he had made in the Acropolis, &c. and also, the restitution of a Turkish surgeon, who belonged to him. In case they failed in satisfying his claims and demands, he threatened them with instant revenge. Every one knew, that, of late, Odysseus had offered his services

to Omer Pasha of Negropont; and it was so strongly apprehended that his proposals would be accepted, that, hourly expecting the arrival of a Turkish force under his guidance, the whole population of Athens spent every night on the ramparts for upwards of a week, with a view of guarding against a surprise.

Goura had not yet returned from Peloponnesus; and the number of troops, left by him to defend the Acropolis, was insufficient to protect the town against the enemy. Despatch after despatch was therefore sent to him to inform him of the danger which threatened Athens; and to beseech him to arrive in time to defeat the schemes, which the enemy, listening to the counsels of Odysseus, had proposed executing during his absence. The fears of the Athenians proved unfounded; for, after a few days, the capitano, who had inspired them with so much terror, withdrew to his cavern in Mount Parnassus, carrying with him large droves of sheep and oxen.

Whatever eulogies may have been lavished on Goura, by the partisans of government, in whose hands he became the chief instrument to depose the rebels in Attica and Peloponnesus; his merits cannot but lose no small share of their lustre, when it is seen that feelings of patriotism little animated his actions; and that ambition and avarice alone induced him to betray his old friend and companion, Odysseus. The booty, which he brought from Morea, was of immense value, and the sums, with which government bribed him, were far from trifling. Some Athenian ladies having called upon his wife to congratulate her on her husband's return, found her sitting on a sofa, and amusing herself, with childish vanity, in emptying and filling two bags of sovereigns, which he had given her as pin-money. Goura was a man, who had received not the slightest rudiments

of education. Born in an obscure village of Carpenisi, he had, from his youth upwards, served in the band of Armatolis under Odysseus; and, more than once, polluted his hands with innocent blood. His narrow escape, after murdering a rich aga from Egripo in the bazaar of Athens, was yet in the mouth of every one. He owed on this occasion his life to Odysseus, who, reckoning on his gratitude, made him the confidant of his designs. Goura had the chief hand in putting to death Alexi Noutzo and Balasca, whom government had sent to dispossess his friend of the command of Attica. It cannot be denied, however, that he possessed all the merits of a soldier, and what proves beyond doubt, that his courage was innate, is, that the bravery, which characterized him when poor, did not cease to signalize him after the acquisition of immense wealth.

The revenues of Athens consisted chiefly in oil; and as eight olive-trees out of ten were Turkish, and now national property, it may easily be conceived, what a source of wealth government possessed merely in this part of Eastern Greece. For, in the worst seasons, the territory in the immediate vicinity of Athens produced two hundred thousand measures of oil, and every third or fourth year even three hundred thousand*. Each measure contained five oques, or twelve pounds and a half in weight, which on an average was sold for half a dollar. The proprietors of olive-trees paid to government a tenth of the produce; but those, who farmed the trees belonging to the public, were bound to deliver six measures out of ten. Wax, honey, wool, silk, valonea, pourno-cocchi, or red dye berries, alizari (ριζαρι), were

* The truth of this statement has been confirmed to me by Mr. Fauvel, who, for nearly thirty years, was French consul at Athens.

the other principal articles of exportation from Athens. The custom-house at the Piræus must, therefore, have produced an annual revenue of at least fifty thousand dollars. For heavy duties were laid not only on every article of importation but also of exportation *.

Not to enter into further details, I may state, that from repeated inquiries, I feel myself justified in asserting, that the annual revenues of Eastern Greece must have amounted to more than one hundred thousand dollars; and that if this sum did not enter into the public coffers, it arose entirely from the bad administration of the finances and the dishonesty of the functionaries.

Among the individuals, with whom I became acquainted at Athens, the two, who most deserve mention, are Psila an Athenian, and Count Sta. Rosa, who acted as minister of war during the short revolution in Piedmont. The former was the editor of the Athenian Ephemerides, and united to patriotism a sound and cool judgment, a quality rare every where, but especially in this country; where the minds of men are characterized rather by brilliancy than solidity. He bitterly lamented the utter im-

* In order to form some idea of the nature of these, I have deemed it expedient to annex the following table of duties, paid for animals and cattle, which were daily exported in large quantities from peninsular and continental Greece to the neighbouring islands.

	Piastres.
For baggage-horses	100, or 10 Spanish dollars.
For mules	150.
For asses	20.
For cows and oxen	50.
For goats and sheep	6.
For hogs	from 20 to 10.
For turkeys	3.
For geese	2.
For ducks	1.
For hens and fowls	30 paras.

possibility, which his position and the lawless state of Greece involved him, of writing his paper in a style of true independence. Yet, notwithstanding his endeavour to avoid hurting the feelings of individuals, he was shortly after summoned to appear with his printer, before the senate at Anapli; for an article, relative to Panoutso Notara's conduct as president of that body.

Count Santa Rosa had, a few weeks previous, arrived in Greece from England, in consequence of the repeated representations, made to him by the Greek deputies in London. They unwarrantedly represented to him, how happy and proud their government would be, in receiving a person of his capacity and skill in political administration; and the eagerness, with which they would avail themselves of his wisdom in the direction of the infant state. A foreigner alone could succeed in reconciling parties by destroying rivalships; and, certainly, no one was ever better calculated than himself to prove of vital utility to Greece.

These enticing arguments, which his generous sentiments and unfeigned love for liberty, prompted him to credit, induced him to abandon the comforts and repose he enjoyed in England. Leaving the numerous friends, his talents and virtues had procured for him in our hospitable land, regardless of his wife and numerous family, and embarked anew on the turbulent sea of affairs, to court new dangers in the sacred cause for the love of which he had become a roaming exile, and broken asunder the dearest ties of the heart, what was his disappointment, when, on landing at Anapli, instead of meeting with the cordial reception, he naturally expected; he perceived, that the members of government did not even treat him with the common marks of politeness, due to a

stranger; but regarded him at once with a suspicious eye? They soon made him perceive, that his assistance was superfluous; and, at last, bluntly told him, that he would render government a great service by changing his name; since they apprehended, that the *Holy* Alliance, hearing that he was in Greece, the reproach might be renewed, that their country had become the asylum of carbonari, freemasons, and outlaws.

On Count Rosa's mentioning to them the words of their own deputies, Papaflessa phlegmatically answered, "The atmosphere of London seems to have made them forget what sort of men we are here." It now became evident, that the parties had wantonly and designedly sacrificed his interests for their own private ends; and that his departure and that of Cavallo Collegrio, Palma, Pecchio, &c. for Greece had afforded matter for a newspaper puff, calculated to revive for awhile the drooping enthusiasm of John Bull, and to raise the funds.

Such proceedings wounded the count deeply. Not satisfied with slighting the sacrifices, he had made for their sake, the members of the government filled his cup of disappointment to the brim, by advising him to drop in a land of liberty a name, which he would never drop even in countries, where an active police threatened him with perpetual imprisonment, or rather with certain death. With a view of dissipating the melancholy, which now incessantly tortured his mind, the Count undertook a journey to Athens. But solitude, and a contemplation of ruins, aggravate rather than cure a melancholy mind; and the daily discoveries, he made of the Greek character; the fears entertained of seeing Athens besieged by Greeks, converted into friends and counsellors of Mussulmen; the civil wars in Peloponnesus; and

other causes, gradually dissipated all remaining illusions.

Most persons, after meeting such an unfavourable reception, would have, no doubt, formed a resolution to leave a country, where nothing but farther disappointment and vexation could fairly be expected; but the Count was gifted with an inflexible mind, never to be deterred from its purpose. The Greeks, with all their faults, interested him still; if not by themselves, at least by association of ideas. If, therefore, he could not serve them in the capacity of a statesman, he resolved on serving them as a private soldier.

Full of the enthusiasm, which gave rise to this determination, he returned to Anapli, and volunteered, under the orders of a capitano, famed for his valour. In vain did the Count's friends endeavour to dissuade him by representing to him, how little his frail constitution, at an age like his, qualified him to withstand the continual hardships of a palichari's life; to march; to fly like him; to sleep like him; exposed to the inclemency of the seasons, with no other covering but his *cappa;* to imitate his abstemiousness and live a whole day merely on a small biscuit soaked in water. Even the consideration of his children, whom he loved so tenderly as constantly to wear their likenesses, which he repeatedly in the day covered with his unavailing kisses and tears, could not alter his resolution. Equipped, therefore, like a common soldier, hearing that Neocastra was threatened, he left Anapli on foot and hastened thither.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Ibrahim Pasha's expedition against Greece—Battle of Halicarnassus—The Egyptian fleet dispersed by a storm.

TOWARDS the end of February, we received the news, that Ibrahim Pasha had arrived, on the 13th, with a portion of his fleet before Modon, and landed with two regiments.

The entire fleet consisted of eight frigates, twelve corvettes, thirty-six brigs, and numerous transport-ships; it had on board four disciplined regiments, each consisting of four thousand men, two thousand cavalry, one thousand artillerymen. On its way to Modon it was to stop at Candia, in order to take the five thousand Albanian irregulars and eight hundred cavalry under Hussein Bey.

On the 17th of July, 1824, the fleet, composed of upwards of two hundred and twenty sail, left Alexandria; and, in conformity with the orders of the admiral, Ismael Gibelattar, steered towards Rhodes, where there was an indispensable necessity of touching; in order to renew the supply of water, of which, owing to the number of men, horses, and mules, on board, caused an immense consumption to be made. Assisted by fair winds, they soon arrived in the bay of Marmarizza; where Ibrahim convoked a general counsel, or divan, in order to deliberate on the best plan for opening and pursuing the campaign. The chiaia, and chief officers of his court, Ismael and the principal naval officers, Courshid Bey, Selim Bey,

Hussein Bey, and Soliman Bey, (formerly Mr. Sève) colonels of the four regiments, attended. The latter and a few others, were of opinion that the best plan would be to effect a landing at once at Hydra: the principal, and, in truth, the only source of the enemy's strength consisting, they observed, in their navy; and as the simplest and most expeditious manner of extirpating an evil is the attacking it at the root, every other plan ought to be laid aside till the Greek vessels were destroyed. This, they said, would strike a blow at the heart; while the most brilliant success on land, could only act like slight wounds, easily to be healed. Others replied, that convinced, as every one must be of the necessity of destroying the Greek fleet, yet they could not but regard it highly unadvisable, not to say impossible, to venture on a maritime campaign, before they had landed the transports with the provisions, ammunition, and siege artillery, in the Morea. Having done this, a no less important subject would remain for consideration; viz. that as they did not possess a single port in the Morea, in which they could anchor in safety, they should concentrate all their efforts to gain possession of the fortress of Navarino, which defended the entrance to one of the finest and most convenient harbours in the world. It would then be time to think of directing their efforts on Hydra.

When Ismael Gibelattar's turn arrived to speak, he requested Ibrahim to allow him, in consideration of the friendship his father bore to him, and of his grey beard, to address him freely. Having obtained permission, he entreated him to observe, that since union among leaders is the soul of success, he much feared, the present enterprise would entirely miscarry, unless an open and sincere reconciliation took place between him and the capitan pasha. As they

were both to co-operate in the execution of the meditated designs against the enemies of their common faith, he trusted that, henceforth, forgetting their grievances, their rivalship would consist in vying who should display most zeal, and who act most in harmony with the other. It was indispensable, he thought, that an interview should take place; a decision could then be made, as to the plan of the campaign; and there could be no doubt, but the great experience and wisdom of Topal Pasha would prove of infinite service. Besides, the Egyptian fleet was in itself too small to succeed in an undertaking so fraught with difficulty as the taking of Hydra. The powerful co-operation of that from Constantinople, however, would place success beyond all doubt.

Ibrahim, who had no personal resentment against the capitan pasha, readily consented to these propositions; observing, that he would ever act with sincerity himself; but he greatly feared, that Topal Pasha's hatred to his father was so deeply rooted and irreconcilable, that he extended it, also, to his son; and that, though he might for awhile assume the mask of friendship, he might do it only the more certainly to gratify his revenge. Indeed the injuries, received by him from Mehmet Ali, were not of a nature to be soon forgotten. For the loss of a pashalik like Egypt had produced such an indelible impression, that it could not but hourly return to his mind, governed, as it was, by avarice, ambition, and "high disdain from sense of injured merit."

Topal Pasha was an adept at dissimulation. He, therefore, laid aside all those laws of etiquette, to which Mussulmen attach even more importance than European grandees; he came in person on board Ibrahim's ship; and exhibiting all the joy and delight, experienced by a father on meeting, after a

long absence, a beloved son, he embraced him with extravagant feeling; presented him with gifts of great value; and, knowing how sensible he was to the voice of self-love, assured him, that he had come to place himself and his fleet under his command; happy to be permitted to accompany his victorious steps.

His manner and fair words succeeded in imposing on Ibrahim so well, as completely to destroy the suspicions, he had entertained; and, in compliance with his desire, he consented, *en passant*, to assist him in taking Samos. This undertaking, he said, would be now but the affair of a few hours; obeyed as he should be by disciplined troops, and assisted at the same time by the talents of so consummate a general.

Ibrahim accepted the proposal the more willingly, as, aware of the disgraceful failure of Topal Pasha, a few weeks before, in his attempt against that island, his inordinate confidence and vanity, united to the utmost contempt for the enemy, induced him to think it would be an easy manner of proving the superiority of the Egyptian over the Constantinopolitan fleet and troops. The dauntless courage of the Greek sailors, however, their immense superiority in naval tactics, the losses their fire-ships had occasioned him, and the panic, which the effect of the whole had spread among his crews, and the excellent dispositions, taken by the Samiots to oppose an enemy's landing, were sufficiently known to Topal Pasha; and these made him prognosticate, that the fate of Ibrahim would be equally unsuccessful as his own.

Three days after the reunion of the two fleets, while they were anchored off Cos (Stanchis) occupying a line, extending between Cape Pitezi and Halicarnassus, a detachment of the Greek fleet, composed of twenty sail and six fire-ships, under the orders of the Hydriot Vice-admiral Stactouri, and the Spezziot

Admiral, Androutzo, formed the design of entering (September the 6th) this narrow strait; persuaded, that if they could but succeed in attaching a fire-ship to one of the enemy's vessels, the destruction of the whole would be inevitable. Perceiving three *brulôts* advancing straight upon his line-of-battle ship, the Capitan Pasha instantly cut his cables; and without even thinking of resistance, or firing a gun, hastened, terror-struck, to run out into the open sea; and seek shelter in the harbour of Halicarnassus (Boudroum).

A terrible engagement took place; and reflecting on the perilous position, in which the Greeks had so courageously placed themselves, exposed not only to the artillery of the Turkish men-of-war, but also to that of the fortresses; it seemed, that they were infallibly lost; especially as nothing was more practicable for the Egyptian ships, which had set sail, to shut them up in this strait. Their address, however, extricated them out of this danger; and in order to give the reader some idea of the almost incredible want of skill of Turkish artillery-men, it may be proper to add, that although they fired upwards of five hours almost incessantly on the Greeks, they succeeded only in destroying one Hydriot fire-ship, and wounding six men.

Four days after this, Ibrahim Pasha, who, during the action, happened to be on shore, perceiving the same Greek vessels, ordered his fleet to give them the chase. Having the wind against them, the Greek vessels were obliged to fly before the Egyptians, who began immediately to congratulate themselves on their triumphs; but the next morning, the wind having changed, they saw the Greeks preparing to attack them again; and although they fought more bravely by far than the Turkish fleet, yet they could not prevent the destruction of a brig and Tunisian

frigate of forty-four guns, with all their equipage and troops on board.

As soon as Stactouri was informed of the junction of the two fleets, which amounted to upwards of seventy-five sail, he hastened to communicate the news to Miaouli, the Hydriot admiral, who was then cruizing with his division off Souda, in expectation of the Egyptian fleet. This brave, indefatigable sailor came immediately, in all haste, to the assistance of his brethren. Their fleet was then composed of seventy-five ships, and ten brulôts. They congratulated themselves mutually on the blindness of their enemy, who, of his own accord, came to entangle his fleets and transports, in a sea where the navigation was so intricate, and so favourable to the employment of the only arm, the weakness of their small merchant brigs permitted them to use,—their fire-ships. Providence seemed to have delivered into their hands the enemy of Greece and Christendom. They mutually exhorted each other to behave with intrepidity; and to do their duty to their country, whose fate depended on their success.

Experience had taught them, that the Egyptian was not more formidable than the Turkish fleet; they trusted, therefore, they would render the efforts of the former against Samos, as fruitless as those of the latter had been. In conformity with their determinations, when a few days after Ibrahim prepared to effect a landing on that island, and had selected for that purpose his two best regiments, those of Courshid and Selim Bey; so many Greek vessels were seen advancing, that, at last, convinced of the rashness of undertaking any thing before the destruction of the Greek fleet had been effected, he hastily ordered his troops to re-embark; and, consulting his safety, sought the open seas. Pursued while in the waters

of Chio and Mytilene, by Miaouli, the Capitan Pasha judged it expedient (on the 2d of October) to return to Constantinople, with fifteen ships; leaving the rest at Ibrahim's discretion. In the mean time the Greeks' *brulotiers* succeeded in burning a corvette, and brig, and in half destroying a frigate belonging to the Egyptian division.

It was not before the 9th of November, that Ibrahim departed from the port; but, before his arrival at Souda in Candia, several of the transports, having soldiers, horses, ammunitions of war, &c. fell into the power of the Greeks; who closely followed him during his voyage. They more than once attempted making use of their fire-ships; but were not, at this time, so fortunate as on other occasions. When in sight of Candia, a violent tempest arose, which so much dispersed his fleet that several ships were thrown on the coast of Egypt and obliged to return to Alexandria in order to repair the damage they had suffered. Others were wrecked; and the greater part were tossed, during several weeks, at sea, before they could reach Souda.

CHAPTER XXIX.

Apathy and presumption of the Greeks—Ibrahim lands at Modon —Commits a great military error—Conduct of the Greeks.

On the 23d of November, Miaouli returned to Hydra with the greater part of the fleet, escorting the numerous transports he had succeeded in capturing, during his glorious campaign. The victories of the navy elated the Greek soldiers with a confidence in their own strength, and utter contempt for this new enemy; which seemed fully justified by the pitiful sight which the Egyptian prisoners exhibited. Worn out by sickness, the fatigues of so arduous a campaign on an element, they were utterly unacquainted with, naked, covered with vermin and foul cutaneous diseases, and terrified, they were seen in the streets of the different towns of Greece, shivering under the inclemency of a climate, which of itself might be considered a sufficient means of destruction to men, born on the burning banks of the Nile.

At the sight of such a complete picture of misery, the handsome and robust palichari could not but exclaim exultingly; "Are these those terrible warriors, which were to bind us in new fetters? Those, at whose very names we were to tremble? Let them but land! without boasting, even our women could destroy them with distaffs alone!"

So general was the security in which the Greeks lived, that although aware of the intention of Ibrahim to disembark his troops, at Modon and Coron,

they did not even think it worth their while, to send a corps of observation to Messenia. Their private quarrels had, moreover, so completely absorbed their attention, as to render them callous to a sense of their own danger. While their brethren, the Islanders, were so bravely and so nobly exposing their lives and property in the defence of Greece, they had been tearing her bosom by intestine dissensions, and wasting her strength by civil wars. Now that the hour of peril drew nigh, they displayed the most singular apathy, or spoke with a braggart assurance, which revolted the more, when it was seen, that want of patriotic feelings was its principal cause. The government itself took every measure to justify the hallucination of the Greeks; for as soon as the defeat of the rebel capitani was achieved, as if Ibrahim's designs were not worth notice, the different Roumeliot capitani were directed to march to the very opposite extremity of Peloponnesus; there to prepare themselves for the siege of Patras; Conduriotti, president of the executive body, having desired the honour of commanding this undertaking himself*.

* In corroboration of this statement, I deem it expedient to give the following extracts from the government newspaper, No. 99 and No. 103.

"*Anapli, March 4th.*—The enemy, encamped at Modon, does not possess the forces, which common report supposes. Their numbers do not exceed four thousand. As soon as they perceived the troops of government, they ran to seek shelter within the fortress, without even firing a musket. The inhabitants of that district are alone amply competent to oppose them; and, on this account, many of the corps of troops, who happened to be there, have received orders to march towards Patras; as well as that of General Colliopoulo, and those of other capitani. The late events in the Messenian Gulf have been occasioned by the disorderly conduct of some Mainots; yet the enemy has taken only two of our men; and these are old men, who could not escape, when after landing he came to forage in the neighbouring villages."

In the mean time, profiting by the moment, when the Greek fleet had by various motives been compelled to return home, Ibrahim sailed from Candia early in February; and about the 10th, O. S., (seven months after his departure from Alexandria) arrived without meeting with the slightest opposition before Modon; where he landed the regiments of Courshid and Hussein Bey, and about 1200 cavalry. He then sent the fleet back to Candia; in order to bring over the remaining part of his army; and the numerous transports he had left in the port of Souda.

Towards the middle of March, he had the satisfaction of seeing it return as safely as it had gone. His loss in men during his protracted and disastrous voyage, may be estimated at 5000*. His cavalry had been almost entirely ruined: besides those vessels, which were burnt by the Greeks, and of which mention has already been made, two others were wrecked

"*Anapli, February* 19*th.*—Official news from the eparch at Nisi, dated the 16th instant, informs us, that Capitan Panagioti Cassonaco has entered the fortress of Neocastro. The Hellens hourly take Arab prisoners and horses; so that we trust, that ere long, they will, with God's assistance, destroy them like so many earthen vessels. From the answers given by the prisoners, (one of whom is the chief groom of Ibrahim Pasha) it appears, that the Egyptians are much disappointed and disheartened. Their chiefs especially perceiving how fallacious Ibrahim's assurances had hitherto been, complain that he made them, in order to delude them and bring them over to Peloponnesus. They repeat to one another, that they will all leave their bones in Morea in the same manner as their brethren, who accompanied the expedition of Dramali. The whole of Sparta, and the inhabitants of the neighbourhood of Modon and Coron (full of enthusiasm and regardless of pay) rushed in the encounter of the enemy. Men and women daily came down in the Greek camps, in order to make booty of the Egyptians, whom they look upon as objects of derision and sport."

* The most conspicuous among the dead was Ismael Gibelattar, who died of retrocedent gout.

on the islands of Tino and Naxos; and about twenty transports were lost or fell into the hands of the enemy.

Happily for the Greeks, Ibrahim was not apprized, when he arrived in Peloponnesus, of the state, in which Navarino happened then to be; viz. as completely destitute of provisions and ammunitions of war, as when the Turks, constrained by famine, surrendered it in 1821. It had, notwithstanding the reiterated and urgent solicitations of its eparch, a feeble garrison of only one hundred and fifty men to defend it. Had the pasha entered the port with his fleet, there can be no doubt but the whole population would have fled precipitately; and he might, without firing a gun, have possessed himself of the fortress, and the fine harbour it commands. But even supposing, that resistance had been made, a few broadsides would soon have taught the Greeks the fruitlessness of their attempt.

After remaining two days at Modon, Ibrahim went in person to reconnoitre the neighbourhood of Neocastro and then proceeded to Coron. Led by its beys and inhabitants, who breathed vengeance against the Greeks, for the torments they had caused them during four years to endure, he ravaged all the country as far as Castelia, without meeting the slightest opposition.

On this occasion Ibrahim committed another military error, which caused general surprise. Instead of continuing his incursion into the immense plain of Calamata, at the entrance of which he had arrived; he suddenly ordered his troops to return to Modon. He might, without difficulty, have made himself master of Nisi, Androussa, Calamata, and the numerous large villages, at the foot of the small ridge of the Taygetus, extending between Scala and Cala-

mata. For no troops were at hand; and in a similar plain, five hundred Turkish horsemen, (so great and magical is the terror, which cavalry inspires among the Greeks), might have routed the largest body they could muster. The riches and booty, he might have gathered on this occasion, and the injury he would have inflicted, are incalculable. The inhabitants of this rich and populous district had not prepared for flight or resistance; so that he would have found all their wealth in their houses. This was considerable; for not only had not the din of war resounded in this happy plain, fertilized by the meandering Pamisus, or the industry of its population disturbed, by the convulsions of the revolution; but no part of the Peloponnesus afforded more valuable products. Silk, dry figs and raisins, delicious wines, oil, wax, and cotton, were annually exported in large quantities from Calamata; proving indeed a never-failing source of riches.

Profiting of the time, Ibrahim so injudiciously allowed them, the Greeks hastened to strengthen the garrison of Neocastro; to which place, thanks to the improvidence of the enemy, there was free access by sea as well as by land. Petro Mavromichali, formerly bey of Maina, was no sooner informed of the critical position of that fortress, than, ever the first in the service of his country, he ordered his two sons, George*

* There is not in Greece a young man more gifted by nature, and improved by education, than this son of Mavromichali. He unites to corporal beauty, truly Grecian, strength and manly grace, elegant manners, persuasive eloquence, couched in pure, harmonious language, wit, sound judgment, courage, and every quality, which captivates men. During his stay at Constantinople, where his father had sent him, as hostage to guarantee his allegiance to the Porte and the payment of the tribute for the province of Maina, he consecrated himself to the study of the ancient Greek, and of the Turkish language; and, by intercourse

and Jani* immediately to march to its defence, with a corps of two hundred men. Tatraco† arrived from

with polished men, softened the asperity of his Spartan manners, without exchanging at the same time his native virtues for Fanariot effeminacy and duplicity. Of the numerous Peloponnesians I have met, no one had a more interesting conversation, reasoned more logically, or took a more correct view of the state of his country. He was decidedly in favour of a monarch, provided not a Greek—but a man chosen in Europe, whose virtues, strength of character, and liberal ideas were acknowledged; for he attributed all the disorders, that prevailed, since the revolution, to the want of a chief endued with superior force. Thus alone could light be elicited from the chaos, which involved the nation. Rendering justice to his merits, the senate appointed him, at the beginning of the revolution, one of the three deputies, whom they sent to the congress at Verona; in order to implore the protection of an alliance which, though holy, showed their love for Turks to be so strong as to prevent their feeling any compassion for the just complaints of Christians.

* Jani's excess of courage proved the cause of his death, a few days after his arrival at Neocastro. Seeing the Turks beginning to raise their batteries, transported by his enthusiasm, he mounted on the rampart of the citadel, and waving his sword in a threatening manner, cried aloud: "Return to your country, ye blind Arabs! for what will you do here against Hellens, under the guidance of Mavromichali's sons?" A Candiot sharp-shooter, who lay concealed in the *chemin couvert*, practised by the enemy, to approach nearer the fortress, fired his rifle and wounded him in the right arm. The bronchial artery was intersected; and as the Greek surgeons, who happened then to be at Neocastro, knew no means of effectually stopping the hemorrhage, this hopeful young man expired, a few days after. He was the third of his family, who since the revolution died in his country's service.

† Tatraco and his brothers are the Machaons of modern Greeks; for, like the Homeric hero, they unite military to chirurgical skill; but, unfortunately, are as equally ill versed in the art of killing as they are in that of healing. Their name is derived from the word ιατρὸς, physician, and was given by the Turks to their family, in which the profession of surgeon had become hereditary. Their reputation in Peloponnesus was very great; and, indeed, they were held in so much consideration, by the Mussulmen of Mistra, that the unheard-of privilege was granted them of wearing arms, and riding on horseback. The disorderly state, in which

Mistra with two hundred; Macrojani* from Arcadia with one hundred and fifty; Nicola Zavella† with the same number; Cranidiotti with one hundred; Jerasinio Phoca, Zirri an Argive Capitano, and a Bulgarian with about two hundred more. The Hydriot captain, Tsamado, entered the port with five sails; and

the province of Mistra and Bardounia continually lay, and the almost daily skirmishes between the Turks themselves and the Mainots, kept the Iatrachei in constant occupation. They practised surgery exactly as it was during its infancy; knowing not even the means of stopping an hemorrhage. They wash all gunshot wounds in all their extent with spirit; and cram them with dossils of lint, besmeared with an ointment, composed of the albumen of an egg and olive oil, beaten up together. Honey, turpentines, mastich, and resins, are the chief articles of their materia medica; and setons are in no case forgotten. A favourite remedy with them is wrapping up the wounded limb in the warm skin of an animal, recently killed, till putrefaction begins. So true is it that, *naturam expelles furca, tamen usque recurret*, I have seen cures, performed by them, which have actually astonished me!

What is not a little to their credit, they were the principal agents in raising the insurrection in this part of Greece; and they succeeded, the more easily, to deceive the Turks, as they enjoyed the consideration and friendship of the most conspicuous. The only mark of gratitude, the Mussulman received from them, was being allowed to take shelter in the walls of Tripolitza. Although, in imitation of the other capitani of Peloponnesus, they made themselves absolute chiefs of their province; and, not satisfied with the immense booty found in the houses, and on the persons of Mussulmen, they entirely absorbed the immense revenues of Mistra, the most productive district in Peloponnesus. Yet they never took up arms against government; but, on the contrary, loudly demanded the establishment of the law; and, with the more sober part of the nation, wished for a constitutional king.

* Macrojani (so denominated from his stature) had, through his bravery and enterprising and intriguing spirit, from a common soldier of Odysseus become general under Conduriotti's government. He distinguished himself against the rebels, and subdued the Dredes, (peasantry occupying the mountainous districts near Arcadia) who are considered the best soldiers in Morea.

† A cousin of the brave Citzo Zavella.

brought to the fortress ammunition; and provisions were daily brought by Ionian boats, sent from Zante. The government sent, at the same time, a brother of the Vice-admiral Stactouri, as governor, and Anagnostaras, the minister of war, to inquire into the wants of the garrison. Shortly after, Emmanuel and Demetri Callergi entered the fortress; the former at the head of a company of artillery, which from one hundred had, owing to desertions, dwindled to sixty men. The latter was accompanied by forty irregulars.

As soon as Ibrahim saw the whole of his army and provisions arrive, he advanced before Neocastro, which is only seven miles from Modon, and began erecting batteries on a slope of Mount St. Nicholas, which commands the fortress. He disposed his troops in such a manner, as to blockade it by land; but succeeded imperfectly in obtaining that end; for the position of Old Navarino, which was occupied by the Greeks, continued to serve as a key of communication with Peloponnesus. To prevent this, since it was impossible to take that perpendicular rock by force, had he been gifted with a more masterly military coup-d'œil, he would have placed a detachment of cavalry at Petrochori, with three companies of Arabs; and thus he might have blockaded with facility both Old and New Navarino at the same time.

CHAPTER XXX.

Author goes to Anapli—Conduct of Conduriotti—Disposition of the Greek force—Expenses—Constitution.

My friend, Mr. Grasset, secretary of Mavrocordato, having informed me, that my services were required, I hastened to leave Athens, and proceeded by Eleusis to Megara; whence I passed to Anapli.

On my arrival at Anapli, the reiterated reports, stating the daily increasing danger of Neocastro; the active manner in which its siege was carried on; and the courage and firmness displayed on several occasions by the Arabs, had begun to make the members of government suspect, that Ibrahim was not so despicable an enemy as he was represented. The information received from continental Greece, apprising them of the expeditions preparing against Mesolonghi* and Salona, forced them to more mature reflection, and caused them to perceive the terrible dilemma, in which their late civil broils had placed the nation, attacked in three different quarters. The only troops, government could dispose of, at this time, were the Roumeliots. Through them the rebel capitani had been brought to subjection; but this success had been too dearly bought. The portion of the loan, which had not been employed in defraying the expenses of the fleet, was entirely devoted to corrupting the chief adherents of the Moriot capitani,

* The enemy arrived before Mesolonghi on the 11th of April, without having met with the slightest opposition during their march. They amounted to 20,000, and were commanded by Ago Mouchourdar, lately appointed by the Porte serasquier, and Roumeli-Valesi.

and inducing those in continental Greece to invade Peloponnesus. But want of pecuniary means was now, comparatively speaking, a trifling difficulty. The whole population of Peloponnesus was so incensed against the government, owing to the thousand vexations and insults they had lately suffered from the Roumeliot troops, who came to establish in its name good order and the reign of justice and constitutional law, that they solemnly declared, they would not oppose the enemy; unless the chiefs, who were imprisoned, were set at liberty, and their country freed from those strangers. The latter, unwilling to risk their lives in the defence of a country, where they were so deservedly hated, while their own homes were unprotected, clamorously demanded payment of their arrears, and for liberty to return to their native mountains. No blame can with justice be laid on Conduriotti's conduct, it being in perfect conformity to the dictates of prudence, and the wise counsel, given by Theopompus to the Athenians;— "It is impossible you should subdue your enemies abroad, before you have rid yourselves of those at home." Unfortunately, he could not perceive, that, owing to the depravity of his countrymen, the means, he employed to reduce, served only to increase the number of the rebels; and to justify, in some degree, the hatred of those very men, who, weary of the despotic yoke of the capitani, had hailed the soldiers of the senate at first as liberators. The zeal and energy, which formerly animated the sailors, no longer presided over their preparatives for the ensuing campaign. Fire-ships could not be got ready. Increase of pay and anticipated payment were made indispensable conditions to their departure from Hydra and Spezzia. In consequence, they did not sail before the month of April; so that, during four months,

the Turkish fleet navigated without the slightest opposition; although, on an emergency like the present, every consideration should have been laid aside, and even the smallest boat armed to prevent the enemy's landing.

In so critical an emergency Conduriotti, president of the executive, thought, that nothing but his presence could remedy the difficulties, which now multiplied in proportion as he sought to overcome them. Wholly unacquainted with military science, and incapacitated by his age and feeble constitution, he formed the resolution of visiting the Greek camp at Fourgi, and the fortress of Neocastro, in the hope of rousing the courage of the soldiers, and inducing them to attack the enemy; to examine the real state of things at Old Navarino, on the island of Sphacteria, and inquire into the wants of the garrison. Mounted on a superb Arabian charger, the spoil of the enemy, he left Anapli on the 29th of March (16th O. S.), in the midst of salvos of artillery, accompanied by Mavrocordato, now secretary of state, and a staff, composed chiefly of Hydriot captains, now turned colonels and generals, and a numerous train of irregular soldiers. He did not, however, arrive at Tripolitza before the 1st of April; though that town is only distant eleven leagues from Anapli. For, born and bred at Hydra, where horses are not used, the president was so little acquainted with horsemanship, that, on his arrival at Argos, only two leagues' distance, he was so fatigued as to be obliged to halt for two days.

I remained at Argos after the president's departure; persuaded that when I should hear of his leaving Tripolitza, having horses of my own, I could soon overtake him in his slow marches. The solemnities of Easter were at hand; and Conduriotti was too orthodox a Christian, though the safety of Greece might

depend upon this loss of time, to undertake any thing before they were over. One of the most satisfactory excuses for this extraordinary and pusillanimous conduct, at a time when so much activity was demanded, was the fruitlessness of his endeavours to rouse the Moriots to a sense of their imminent danger; and alter the resolution, they had unanimously taken, of not marching on the enemy, unless their own capitani returned to place themselves at their head. Instead of granting the Moriots this request, government preferred displaying an untimely firmness; and answered their solicitations by issuing a proclamation (April 22d) declaring Zaimi, Londo, and even the favourite of the nation, Nicitas, who had lately returned to Peloponnesus, traitors to their country. They even proceeded so far as to order their immediate imprisonment. The petty views of private revenge actuated too powerfully to allow any of the chiefs to say, with the magnanimity of Aristides to Themistocles, "Let us leave our enmity on the frontiers; and, if we choose, take it up again on our return."

The immense concourse of people at Anapli, now become the capital of liberated Greece, and the greatest seat of intrigue, perhaps, in the whole world; the narrowness of its filthy streets; the putrid miasmata arising from its surrounding marshes, which completely insulate the rocky point, on which the impregnable Palamidi and the town are built, rendered this town a very unwholesome residence, the constant seat of typhus, and an endemic disorder, bearing a near resemblance to the Walcheren fever. Numerous victims to its fury were daily carried off. Negris, the vice-president of the executive, Botari, were among the most conspicuous. At one moment, not only the president Conduriotti, but almost every member of the legislative and executive were confined to their beds by this complaint; and this was alleged

as an universal excuse to palliate the errors and faults, they committed.

That the administration of Conduriotti was, beyond comparison, better than the antecedent, no one can doubt; but he must be bold indeed, who should affirm that it was free from error. Instead of exercising a rigid economy, the executive, in less than eight months, squandered the money of the first loan, which, with the revenues from the different islands of the Archipelago, and the various towns and provinces, which acknowledged the authority of government, formed a sum of two millions of dollars. The president of this body was a Hydriot; the vice-president a Spezziot; and the different individuals, whom they had intrusted with the most important situations, and the others whom they had left in office, were unanimously subservient to their will, and entirely devoted to the interests of the islands. They were themselves principal owners of ships. Chiefs of a numerous party in their native countries; connected by ties of consanguinity, which, how remote soever, are in small communities objects of much consideration, with an interminable train of relations; necessity often obliged them to keep in full pay every sail, belonging to their islands. Had they neglected to employ all those, who were not absolutely wanted, they would have given rise to so much discontent and jealousy as to create serious disturbances, and exposed their properties, and those of their friends, to the lawless revenge of an infuriated mob.

According to the report generally prevalent, a hundred ships were kept on the footing of active service from June to the beginning of December. One with the other, every one received one thousand dollars per month,—a most exorbitant sum; since the

better half of these vessels were no better than small schooners and cutters; and the number of sailors on board the whole fleet did not exceed eight thousand. The pay of each man was fixed at five dollars per month; so that the allowance for other expenses was more than liberal. Half the number of these ships would, strictly speaking, have been sufficient to act against the enemy. For, according to the system, which the smallness of their vessels obliges the Greek sailors to follow, they avoid, as much as possible, coming to a close and general engagement; since the great superiority of metal on the part of their adversary would soon decide against them. But, by continually hovering about the enemy, they unremittingly watch the time, when calm, gentle, breezes and an intricate navigation, like that of the Ægean and Ionian seas, enable them to direct their light and fast-sailing fire-ships with advantage on the ponderous and ill-managed Turkish vessels. It was rare to see divisions of more than twenty-five or thirty chosen sails going in trace of the enemy, (accompanied by seven or eight fire-ships;) having found, that a greater number retarded their movements; which, to be successful, must be rapid.

The other ships, especially the Spezziot and Ipsariot, were always employed in actively cruizing about as privateers; but, not satisfied with receiving pay from government, and entirely appropriating to themselves the prizes they made, they, regardless of the laws of nations, daily made unjust captures; and when indemnization was claimed by the men-of-war of the respective nations, the Greek government constantly satisfied their demands with money from the public coffers; and in no one case could it force the depredators to refund the amount of their illegitimate booty. How often has this been the case

with the privateers, belonging to Conduriotti! He could not, therefore, pretend to reform with others an abuse, he was the first to profit by himself.

The troops, paid by government from June to February, amounted to fifteen thousand; a number nearly inferior to the general statement, and yet conformable to truth. They were disposed of in the following manner. In Western Greece, three thousand. In Central and Eastern Greece, five thousand. In Peloponnesus, seven thousand. If the whole population, capable of bearing arms, had appeared in the field, the force of the Greeks would have amounted to not less than eighty thousand men. In case of invasion, most of these would have served gratis. The monthly pay of every soldier was three Spanish dollars. Their rations consisted only of two pounds and a half of flour, or one pound and a half of biscuit. But the prodigious number of stratighi, anti-stratighi, chiliarchs, capitani, and other officers, in the Greek service, caused an enormous increase in the army expenses. If forty-five thousand dollars were required monthly to pay the soldiers, not less than ten thousand were employed for the officers. Yet, it was not so much for its prodigal, as on account of the fruitless manner, in which government spent this large portion of the people's money, that it incurred such general blame.

Instead of destroying, by its proper employment, the military supremacy, which had hitherto impeded the establishment of constitutional institutions, they employed it to depose the capitani of Peloponnesus; men as mercenary, as unprincipled, and equal enemies to good order; who had no sooner driven them from their seats, but they sought to occupy them in their stead. They had, after all, operated only an exchange of military despots, who would have grown more insolent, and more imperiously dictated the

law; because they felt how much government was in their power; since to them it was indebted even for the feeble preservation of its own shadowy authority. Out of the numerous proofs, which might be brought in confirmation of this statement, it will suffice to say, that when the executive appointed inspectors to examine, whether the military chiefs actually kept the number of men, for whom they received monthly pay, they first endeavoured unanimously to impose upon them by endless tricks; and when they could not succeed in deceiving them, threats, bribes, and at times even blows, obliged them to make the reports to government such as they wished. Liveri, the inspector, sent to the camp of Fourgi, sought in vain to reform this abuse. Many capitani unblushingly confessed themselves guilty; but threatened, at the same time, that unless their demands were fully satisfied, they would instantly withdraw from the camp with all their men.

The greater part of the money, thus spent to support the worst of enemies, ought to have been consecrated to the formation of ten thousand regular soldiers, dependent entirely on the senate, and characterized by passive obedience to its orders, and absolute devotedness to its interests. Instead of this, the establishment of regular troops had been so completely neglected, that the regiment at Anapli, although never in so flourishing a condition as at present, did not exceed one thousand five hundred men. Rodius, who from logiotato became soldier, was now colonel of this corps. Ignorant himself, by intrigue, petty vexations, and arrogance, he, at length, so completely disgusted the European officers, who by instructing the troops would have exposed his charlatanism, that most of them refused to serve under his orders.

Considering the very imperfect instruction of the

ill-formed, diminutive men, who composed the regiment, individuals, in every sense of the word, the very dregs of the Greek population; a stranger might have been tempted to suppose, that the colonel had selected them purposely, that no one should surpass himself either in mental or corporeal excellence.

The proposition of enrolling foreign mercenaries was, during my stay at Anapli, made to the senate by one of their members; but it was unanimously rejected with indignation, as a measure likely to compromise their liberties; and this decision might have merited our admiration, had it been more consonant with their habitual conduct.

The Conduriotti administration was not only taxed with prodigality, but strongly censured for the mysterious manner, in which it concealed from the public eye all accounts of expenditure. But what seemed most to justify the general suspicions was, that on making a calculation of the sums, expended according to the above statements, an overplus of eight hundred and fifty thousand dollars still remained; which was more than sufficient to draw the nation out of the inactivity, in which it was allowed to remain on pretence of the exhausted state of the government finances. The following estimate was generally looked upon as correct.

	Spanish dollars.
Expenses of the army from May to the beginning of February	420,000
The fleet during six months	600,000
Fifteen fireships	30,000
Civil administration*	100,000
	1,150,000

* The LEGISLATIVE BODY was composed of sixty-one members; eighteen of whom were representatives of the different provinces of continental Greece; twenty-eight of Peloponnesus; ten

It were impossible to account satisfactorily for the employment of so considerable a surplus. Certain it is, however, that, on the arrival of the second loan in April, 1825, government pretended to be in most distressed circumstances.

from the islands of the Archipelago; three from Candia; and two from Hydra and Spezzia. Each of them received a salary of forty dollars per month.

The EXECUTIVE BODY consisted of five members. They were at present Conduriotti, Briga, (who replaced Botari,) Asimachi, Photilla, Anagnosti, Spiliotachi, and Coletti, formerly physician of Mouchtur Pasha, eldest son of Ali Tebelen. Their salary being not fixed, they helped themselves *ad libitum*.

The MINISTERS, they appointed, were eight in number, with salaries of eighty dollars per month.

The EPARCHS, who amounted to about eighty, received forty dollars per month: and there existed in every district a POLICE-MAGISTRATE, who received, monthly, twenty dollars.

CHAPTER XXXI.

Conduct of the Duke of Orleans—Count Pecchio—Count Palma —Tricoupi—Author arrives at Tripolitza—Introduction to Conduriotti.

A FEW days before my departure from Anapli, I had occasion to meet, at the hospitable house of the Callergis (Greeks, whose family is settled in Russia), General Roche, on his arrival from France; whence he had been sent to Greece, as agent of the lately established Paris Greek Committee. Papaflessa, minister for the home department, happened, at the same time, to call on the general; and as there was no interpreter present, I officiated in that capacity. The promises of support, made by the general, his account of the enthusiasm, felt by all classes in France, and their liberal subscriptions in favour of the Greek cause, were heard with indifference. The French could never have acquired popularity in Greece; owing to the well-known friendship, which subsisted between the French government and Mehmet Ali; the conduct of Drovetti, who acted as tutorial counsellor to the pasha; the constant services, which the French navy rendered to Ibrahim, and the construction of so many Egyptian vessels in French dockyards.

From these motives, if the Austrians were looked upon as the warmest, the French were ranked among the most active friends of the enemies of Greece. Roche was by many considered, on what foundations, I cannot say, as no other than an emissary from the Duke of Orleans. Things in this country were car-

ried on, in general, with so little secrecy and discretion; that almost every one was aware, that a numerous party, at the head of which was Mavrocordato, was persuaded, that a constitutional monarchy would prove more advantageous to the nation, than the provisional government, under which they had hitherto lived; and that they could not make a better choice of a sovereign than one of the Orleans family. In consequence of this they maintained an active correspondence with Paris. No unwilling ear could be reasonably lent to the proposition of a crown; although no decisive answer was given, considering the existing state of things. But anxious tacitly to maintain an interest in Greece, without compromising his name, the duke became instrumental in rendering Philhellenism popular.

Papaflessa related to him the active manner, in which, during several years, he and other emissaries of the Hœteria travelled about the country, spreading among the people, the seeds of revolutionary principles; or, to speak more correctly, announcing to them the coming of the Russians as that of a forthcoming of a Messiah. I may here observe, that so strongly cemented by superstition is the penchant of the Greeks for the Russians, that neither their perfidious conduct under Catherine, nor the habitual tenor of their political conduct since; nor even their late base desertion, after occasioning the insurrection of Moldavia and Wallachia, could weaken the friendship of the Greeks for their irreligionaries.

The Russians, besides, are regarded as the natural enemies of Turkey; as those, who are destined to plant anew the standard of Constantine on the walls of Byzantium, and re-establish the throne of the Greek emperors. Let the English remember, that whatever benefits, they may confer on the Greeks, they never

will acquire the affection of the nation. They will ever be loathed secretly, as they were by the Spaniards, as heretics; while the Russians, whenever they like, will be embraced with the cordiality of brothers who, after grievous wrongs, seek reconciliation.

Among the foreigners, whose acquaintance I made at Anapli, the most engaging and entertaining was Count Pecchio. His manners, which made him regarded as the most gentlemanly person in the circles of Milan, caused him to appear doubly agreeable in this barbarous town; where politeness and society were equally unknown. I dined at his lodgings with Count Palma, and other Piedmontese of distinction; who by their talents, superiority of education, and acquaintance with civil administration, might have been of essential service to the Greek government, had the members of it not been actuated by a narrow-minded vanity, and a dislike to strangers. These gentlemen have published two pamphlets on Greece. The work of the first is a very imperfect account; and that of the second, as the title proves, a very prejudiced one. Neither the one nor the other, indeed, had opportunities requisite to take correct views of things; pent up, as they were, within the walls of Anapli, and totally unacquainted with the language.

If I think myself warranted in complaining of Count Palma, for his observations and calumnious accusations against me, it is because he does not bring a single proof in corroboration of what he advances. Thefts, apostacy, and treason, are crimes, which slander may lay to the account of the most innocent man living; but no man of honour should circulate such reports without investigating the facts, on which they are grounded. Count Palma especially, who was judge in Piedmont, should know, that accusation and guilt are not synonymous; and

that those are frequently found innocent against whom, at first, the strongest appearances seem to weigh. I shall not, however, interrupt the thread of my narration. I shall refute the charges he brings against me in an appendix.

The festivals of Easter were celebrated, a few days before my departure from Anapli; and during three days nothing was heard or seen, but incessant firing of pistols and muskets, shouting, singing, drinking, dancing, and in one word every demonstration of the most bacchanalian joy. Preceded by the military band, and accompanied by the regiment, the senate, the executive, the ministers, the governor of the Palamidi Photamara, the principal military chiefs, all arrayed in their most splendid costumes, went in a body to the church of Saint Nicholas to assist at the solemn ceremony, performed on the occasion. Before the service terminated, they gave to one another the kiss of mutual reconciliation; which, had it been sincere, might indeed have justified the people's rejoicing, and deserved to be announced by the salvos of artillery, which rent the air.

The senate, as before observed, consisted of sixty-one members; who, although calling themselves representatives of the nation, were but little entitled to that appellation; since they had not been elected by a majority of the people, to whom even the right of assembling was not allowed; but by the capitano, cogiabashi, or primate, of their respective town or district; who considered them as the fittest individuals to assert and defend their despotic principles, and act as their agents near government. They had rather represented, hitherto, the aristocracy of the chiefs, than the will of a free people. It cannot be denied, however, that some of the actual senators were, at heart, very good-meaning men; but their

gross ignorance, their total unacquaintance with the nature and tendency of liberal institutions, rendered them mere ciphers; and precluded them from the possibility of discharging their duties notwithstanding their best intentions. The only man among the senators, who, to talent and patriotic feelings, united the advantage of a liberal education, was Spiro Tricoupi. The other five or six members who had received some tincture of education, retained too much of the principles of the Russian or Moldavo-Wallachian school. The imbecility of the legislature destroyed the equilibrium, which was intended to exist between it and the executive; the preponderance of the latter was unquestionable; and it exercised, in consequence, the most uncontrolled and arbitrary sway. The secret manner, in which the sittings were held, is in itself a sufficient proof of the illiberality of the views of the senators; who could not conceive, that the common people had any right to witness the manner, in which their most vital interests were treated. For form's sake, the editor of the government newspaper was alone entitled to be present at their deliberations; but not only was he cautioned, not to publish any of the speeches; but, whenever five members thought it expedient to make the proposition, even this witness was forced to retire.

As soon as I received orders to join the headquarters at Tripolitza, I immediately put myself in march; and, taking the road along the shore, arrived at the Myli; a place so named from the mills constructed there, owing to the convenience afforded by the neighbouring Alcyonian lake, the waters of which are employed to turn them. The next morning we proceeded to Aclado Campo, a village curiously built round a conical hill, and while there the peasants

informed us of the numberless vexations, they had lately suffered from Chagi Cristo and his Bulgarian bands.

After ascending the steep, circuitous, road over Mount Partheni, and the strong Derveni, where, a few months before, Pano Colocotrone, the Dehli Janei, and other rebels, attempted in vain to arrest the troops of government, who succeeded in turning the position, and falling unexpectedly on their backs, we descended into the dreary-looking plain of Tripolitza; and, after eight hours and a half's march, entered the town.

The climate of this part of the country is very different from that of the plains, near the sea; the range of its temperature being near the same as that of the more southerly counties of England. Indeed, few countries have been more favoured by nature than the Peloponnesus; for while a portion of it gives birth to the olive, the vine, the palm, the cotton, rice, and other of the richer productions of more southern climates, other parts afford all the advantages of northern latitudes.

Tripolitza was still the largest town of Peloponnesus, though a large portion of its Turkish houses had been destroyed by the Greeks, on storming this place; where thirty thousand of their oppressors had taken refuge. For not satisfied with spilling their blood, they sought, in the fury of their revenge, to destroy even their habitations. Its walls had not suffered much from the miserable artillery of the Greeks; although they are little higher and thicker than those of a garden; and consequently not susceptible of offering the slightest resistance to a well-directed attack. From fifteen to twenty small cannons were mounted on its ill-constructed batteries.

I was here presented by Mavrocordato to Con-

duriotti, whose physiognomy proclaims him a very ordinary man, entirely deficient in the qualifications required for a leader of a nation, especially in arduous circumstances. His ignorance was extraordinary; he had merely received the education of a coarse merchant-captain, and in his life had not perhaps read any other book than the log-books of his vessels. He bore the reputation of being obstinate, revengeful, proud, and, notwithstanding his immense wealth, exceedingly greedy and parsimonious. But never did his want of capacity, or of education, appear in a more glaring light, than since the secretary of state was near him; so great was the contrast to the advantage of the latter. The weightiest, and the most insignificant, affair were equally directed by him. He alone succeeded, by his indefatigable endeavours, in putting some activity and system into the measures, that were taken against Ibrahim; and in rousing the torpid and phlegmatic disposition of the president, who at last was persuaded to leave Tripolitza, (3d of April, O. S.) accompanied by fifteen hundred men.

In the evening we slept at Leondari, a large village six leagues and a half distant. On the road are two very strong positions, where the approach of an enemy to Tripolitza might be prevented by a handful of resolute men. The first is the Derveni of Mount Calviero, at about two hours distance from the town; and the second at the pass of the Panagia, at two leagues and a half from Leondari. The inhabitants of this village, in order to escape the vexations of the soldiers, had, a fortnight before, deserted their houses; so that our accommodations were none of the best. Before arriving, we were not a little surprised to meet on the road Cavaliere Collegno, who was returning alone to Tripolitza. This gentleman, who had served as colonel of artillery in the Piedmontese army, had,

on his arrival in Greece, been named engineer in chief to the expedition of Patras; but on that enterprise being given up, he was ordered to penetrate into the fortress of Neocastro, with the detachment of the artillery corps, commanded by Callergi. Arrived in the neighbourhood of Old Navarino, in order to avoid being perceived by the enemy, the resolution was taken of profiting by the obscurity of night, to accomplish the design; but the march proved difficult, owing to the guides losing the road, and leading the men over a rough and trackless country. Several lost themselves, and the next day returned to Nisi, amongst whom was Cavallo Collegno, who, highly disgusted with the Greeks, had given up the idea of entering Neocastro, and had formed the resolution of quitting a situation in which he felt the impossibility of being ever useful; owing to their total want of subordination and discipline.

On meeting his friend Count Santa Rosa, he explained to him the causes of his resolution: but the urgent remonstrances and entreaties of the latter prevailed upon him to alter his mind, and he gave him a promise to follow him wherever he went.

CHAPTER XXXII.

Proceedings at Neocastro—Author arrives at Nisi—Family of Mavromichali—Proceedings at Nisi—Conduct of Caratasso, &c.—Battle—Greeks defeated—Arrival at Neocastro—Proceedings of Mavrocordato.

LETTERS were now received, in which Stactouri, the governor of Neocastro, informed the president of the daily increasing danger, that threatened that fortress. The enemy was keeping up an incessant fire against it, and had already succeeded in opening a trench in the walls of the town. He enumerated the numerous wants of the garrison, and requested, above all things, that a medical man should be sent without delay; for the number of wounded had, of late, increased very rapidly. He trusted, that the Greek army at Fourgi would at last operate some movement in their favour; or, by falling on the rear of the besiegers, force them to abandon the undertaking altogether.

Aware of the delays, which would prevent the dilatory president from repairing to the army, his unfitness to animate the courage of the soldiers, or prove useful by his military counsels, Mavrocordato, ever animated by the noble ambition of distinguishing himself in his country's service, offered, under the plea of celerity, to proceed himself instantly to the field of action; communicate to the different capitani the orders and dispositions of the executive; examine the real situation of things; and, on his report, Conduriotti might, if he deemed it expedient, repair where his presence was most likely to prove useful.

His propositions were gladly accepted by the president; who thus exonerated himself of a task, the weight of which he felt himself by no means inclined or calculated to bear. I received orders to accompany the prince, and to remain at Neocastro; an honour which had been declined by all the Greek surgeons.

In consequence of the numerous despatches, he had to write, Mavrocordato could not leave Leondari before noon. Escorted by about fifty men, he proceeded, by the Derveni of Macryplai, to the Khan of Sakona; and thence to Scala, a distance of six short leagues. This village, situate at the entrance of the beautiful plain of Calamata, had like all those, two and even three hours from the road, been abandoned by its terrified inhabitants; who found themselves treated more tyrannically by their coreligionaries, than they had ever been by their Turkish oppressors. In the house, in which we took up our abode with the prince, traces still remained of the wanton and lawless conduct of the soldiers of the government, who had rioted here during several days, and committed all manner of excesses. The reader may have some idea of the baseness of their conduct, when I state, that, before they left the place, they amused themselves by firing at the wine casks of the peasants, and spilling the contents, because they could not have the satisfaction of drinking it themselves. In the evening we supped with Capitan Cephala, who had come down, from Meligala, where he left his troop, in order to see Mavrocordato. He was one of the few surviving companions of the famous Cleftis Zacharia, and might be considered as one of the most courageous of the Greeks. Nine honourable scars in the front part of his body attested sufficiently his valour. Two of these he had received in the affair at this very village; where the Cleftes were unex-

pectedly surrounded by the Turkish Armatolis. Colocotrone's five brothers, and the greater number of their followers, were killed or taken in this bloody action. Theodore escaped miraculously by disguising himself in woman's clothes.

Cephala spoke at great length on the utter impossibility of inducing the Moriots to march against the enemy, as long as the Roumeliots remained in their country; or their capitani were detained at Hydra. For they preferred submitting to the Turks sooner than live again under the government of Conduriotti.

The next morning we proceeded to Nisi, a small town of about six hundred houses, situated in the centre of the luxuriant plain of Calamata. The vegetation was at least six weeks more advanced than at Tripolitza; and the numerous hedges of prickly Indian fig-tree gave to the country a peculiarly new character. The neighbourhood of Nisi is highly cultivated; and its detached houses surrounded by rich gardens, lemon, orange, pomegranate-groves, &c. present a very pleasing appearance. The numerous cypress trees and weeping willows, seen in every direction, should caution the traveller not to allow himself to be detained too long by the fascinating beauties of this spot; for the causes of its fertility render it the constant abode of disease and death.

The town, abandoned by its principal inhabitants, was now occupied by the Mainot soldiers of Petrobey Mavromichali, with whom we dined at the house of Calamargioti, chief primate of the place. Petrobey Mavromichali's physiognomy is exceedingly fine; possessing all that nobleness of expression, stamped on the countenances of gods and heroes on Grecian medals. The grief which the late death of his son, Jani, had occasioned him, was yet visible on his face, and rendered

his features still more interesting. There exist not in all Greece, a family, which not only could be less interested, but more, even, averse to a revolution, than that of the Mavromichalis. The dignity of Bey of Maina belonged to it. They could not, therefore, hope for any increase of power; neither could they conceal from themselves, that, by joining the rebels, they in some manner pronounced sentence on the two sons of the actual bey, who were hostages in the hands of the Turks. Yet with them patriotism triumphed over every other consideration. They were the first to join the standard of liberty; and, in every undertaking against the enemy, they have been foremost. Cyriacouli Mavromichali fell on the coast of Epirus; Elias in Negropont; Constantino at the foot of Modon's walls; the youngest of the children at Neocastro. The other members of the family were greatly instrumental in the reduction of the fortresses of Peloponnesus; in relieving Mesolonghi, and ever ready to fly to the point where danger threatened most. Yet, after merits and sacrifices so signalized, no one became more the object of the nation's ingratitude than Petrobey. He was not only declared a rebel, but accused by the government paper, of treason; of having entered into negotiations with the Pasha of Egypt, and of offering to deliver the Peloponnesus into his hands. They compared his conduct to that of Pausanias, and would willingly have made his end the same. But the inaccessible mountains of Taygetus put a stop to the infuriated vindictive spirit of his enemies; and prevented him from sharing the fate, which threatened the imprisoned Moriot chiefs at Hydra, and would no doubt have fallen on their heads, had not the desperate state of things, and the clamours of the whole population of Peloponnesus, forced government to release them.

The manner, in which Petrobey refuted, uncontrovertibly, the accusations of his ungrateful fellow-citizens from the moment Ibrahim threatened Neocastro, was magnanimous. His love to Greece, and the desire of fulfilling his duties, made him forget the injuries he had received. I do not, however, pretend to assert, that Petrobey's conduct towards government was blameless; or that avarice and a spirit of extortion did not characterize him as well as other Greeks. A friend to military power, and persuaded that a republican form of government could never suit the Greeks, he openly favoured the capitani of Morea; and wished to perpetuate their aristocracy, by dividing the country into so many federate principalities. But in no instance did he take part in civil broils; or spill the blood of a citizen. He always aimed at maintaining himself at home in the same full independence, as before the revolution, and disdained listening to orders from Anapli; or making Maina a province, dependent on the Greek government.

After dinner we left Nisi; and, marching in the direction of the ridge of hills named Conto Vouni, we met a party of soldiers, returning from the Greek camp with an Arab prisoner, whom they exultingly led in triumph. We proposed passing the night at a village; but found, in front of the houses, so many putrified carcasses, that we climbed on a knoll and there took up our quarters.

The next morning we arrived at the camp. The position, which the Greeks had chosen, was susceptible of being rendered very strong with little pains; the rear being defended by a high and steep hill. The right wing was covered by thickets, coppice woods, and very unequal ground. So great, however, was their security, that although Ibrahim's camp lay only

at three leagues' distance, the greater part of the capitani thought it superfluous to intrench themselves even behind their usual *tambouri;* which are simply walls of loose stones, three feet high, behind which the soldiers squat themselves, and fire at the enemy.

Caraiscachi, Zavella, and Chagi Cristo, alone had slightly intrenched themselves. The two first in the houses of the village of Cremidi; the latter in those of Fourgi, a small hamlet in the centre of the camp. The right and most considerable wing lay at the very foot of the hill, where the band of soldiers had fixed their quarters. Scourti, lately captain of a brig, but now elevated by Conduriotti to the rank of general, was lodged in a hut, formed with branches of trees. There we repaired with Mavrocordato. The generals Xidi of Tripolitza, P. Zaphiropoulo from Zakounia, Costa Bozzari, Chormova, and Capitan Eleutheri from Hydra, were the principal chiefs, who occupied this position. The whole army of the Greeks could not amount to five thousand men. Two thousand formed the centre and left wing; the rest composed the right. As soon as Mavrocordato arrived, he invited the different chiefs to an assembly.

It was a fine, almost a theatrical, sight to see the pompous manner, in which these capitani, who vied with each other in splendour of dress and arms, and in the number of their train, presented themselves before Mavrocordato; and to observe the insolent, contemptuous, nod, with which Caraiscachi and Zavella, who since the affair at Mesolonghi had become inseparable friends, saluted him. But the chief who displayed most ostentation was Chagi Cristo, whom government had raised to the rank of general in chief; partly owing to his distinguished services against the rebels; and, also, because, being a foreigner, they

could, the more easily, rely on his entire devotion to their interests. He was surrounded with all the retinue of a Turkish pasha; and whenever he moved, was preceded by kettle-drums, horse-tails, the iron club, &c.

The chiefs being seated in a circle on the ground, Mavrocordato informed them of the object of his mission; read to them a letter from the president; and requested them to submit to general consideration the plans, they thought most advantageous, and most likely to force the enemy to raise the siege of Neocastro.

After much discussion, the resolution was adopted of dividing the army into two portions; one half to march to Jalova, a position close to the extremity of the bay of Navarino; where they were to intrench themselves; and the other to occupy the pass of St. Nicholas: and thus to intercept the communications of the enemy with Modon; where his provisions and ammunitions were deposited. On a given day, they were to fall on the camp of the besiegers.

Anxious to convey this information to the garrison of Neocastro, Mavrocordato resolved on starting; although it was four o'clock, he trusted we should arrive before dark at the village of Chorais, which lies at two leagues distance from Fourgi. The road had, however, become so very bad, owing to the late rains, that it was eight in the evening before we were enabled to take up our quarters for the night. Several capitani occupied the village; the most conspicuous of whom were Caratasso and Vattino. The former, born in Olympus, was the Nestor of Cleftes; his head had grown hoary in the profession of arms; yet, although upwards of seventy-five years old, this fine old man retained all the activity and courage of youth, united to the experience of age. He had given in a late

action proof of his capacity; and I have heard afterwards the very enemy, that attacked him, confess, that on no occasion did they see the Greeks display more valour.

Impatient of remaining inactive in the camp at Fourgi, Caratasso departed with his troop, consisting of two hundred men; and hovering around the camp of the Egyptians, day and night, he kept them in continual alarm, succeeded in taking some booty, and had often slight skirmishes with them. Anxious to get rid of so troublesome a neighbour, Ibrahim ordered, on the 27th of March, four companies of the regiment Courshid Bey, to march against Caratasso. He had fortified himself in a large farm-house near Jalova, where, during several hours, he resisted the repeated attacks of the Arabs, so gallantly, that, after losing about two hundred men, they judged it expedient to retire. According to the reports of the surgeons, upwards of two hundred were wounded; the most conspicuous among whom was Youssouf Aga, lieutenant-colonel of the regiment.

When Mavrocordato called upon Caratasso, he began loudly to inveigh against the capitani at Fourgi, for allowing insubordination and anarchy to exist in the camp; where each sought to command, and none to obey; and for giving themselves the most disgusting examples of Turkish avarice and luxury. Judging from the late affair he had had with the disciplined Egyptians, he foretold, that the Greeks, unless they entirely changed their military conduct, would never be able to sustain their encounter. He himself expressed his admiration for the cool manner, in which their companies remained exposed to his destructive fire. Instead, therefore, of underrating their valour, the Greeks should not hesitate to look upon them as infinitely more formidable than Albanians.

In the evening we supped with Vattino. According to custom, a whole-roasted lamb was brought on the table, and after it had been carved with the yataghan (cutlass) of one of the guests, we helped ourselves with our hands in the best manner we could. The right shoulder blade of the animal was diligently stripped of the surrounding meat; and then handed to Vattino, as the person then present best qualified to foretell, from its appearances, the foreboding events. Placing it before the candle, he attentively considered the outlines, presented by the vascular system of the diaphanous portion of the bone; the whole company waiting in deep silence to his oracular observations. Every one of the palichari was horror-struck on seeing the sudden alteration, that took place on his physiognomy, and on hearing the following words uttered with a solemn, impressive voice: "Brethren, the enemy is preparing against us; —yes—much Greek blood will be spilled—but two considerable tombs will be erected by the Turks."—All the old Cleftes examined it, and assured, that Vattino's words were true, the appearances of their habitual augury being too plain to be mistaken.

The next morning (April 20th), two hours before day, we were awakened by an incessant and loud report of musketry, in the direction of Fourgi, and no doubt was entertained but that the Egyptians had attacked the Greek camp. Several detachments were instantly despatched from Chorais, in order to observe the result of the action; and Count Santa Rosa accompanied one of them. The battle continued till three in the afternoon. The following is the report which I gathered from several wounded and runaways, who came to Chorais, from the bishop of Modon, who, stationed on a neighbouring height, observed the

whole affair; and from numerous other eye-witnesses both of the Greek and Turkish armies.

Informed of the daily increase of the Greek camp at Fourgi, Ibrahim, persuaded that the readiest way to annihilate the plans brewing against him was to fall upon his enemies unawares, ordered the two regiments, Courshid and Selim, which may be esteemed at six thousand five hundred men, two thousand cavalry, and about one thousand five hundred irregulars, to accompany him. Arrived before the Greek line, and placing himself at the head of the cavalry, he charged the right wing with great impetuosity, and, in a few moments, put it into complete rout; destroying every one who by timely flight could not escape. Capitan Nicola of Neocastro, and Zaphiropoulo alone, were taken alive. The number of the dead could not be less than six hundred: the most conspicuous among whom was the haughty General Xidi, Eleutheri, Cormova, and Bottaiti. The wounded amounted to three hundred. Scourti and Costa Bozzari, after miraculously escaping the fate of the above chiefs, flew to Androussa. While the cavalry pursued the Greeks, the Arabs attacked the two villages, where Zavella, Caraiscachi and Chagi Cristo had intrenched themselves; but they were received with so much vigour, that their several attempts to dislodge the Greeks proved ineffectual, notwithstanding the continued fire of their field-artillery. Had Ibrahim known how to avail himself of his success, he would have blockaded the Greeks; and after three days at the utmost, total want of water and provisions must have forced them to surrender, or to make their way across the Egyptian lines; a measure which could not be effected without considerable loss. But the resolute resistance of these Greeks, and the

fears, he entertained, that the garrison of Neocastro should profit by his absence to make a sortie during the night, and also the total want of provisions, in which his own troops were, having, on leaving the camp, received rations only for one day, induced Ibrahim to remain satisfied with this partial victory. He, therefore, quitted the field of battle, two hours before sun-set.

The booty, which fell on this occasion to the lot of the Turks, was considerable: but, according to Vattino's prophecy, two persons of note were numbered among the dead. The caimakan or lieutenant-colonel of the Selim regiment, a young man of the brightest hopes, remained on the spot; and the chiaja of Ibrahim, the first person in the army after the pasha, received a mortal wound, of which he died a few days after.

Caraiscachi, Zavella, Mitzo Contojani, and Rango, whose utter contempt for the Arabs, and disciplined troops, had not been a little moderated by this affair, departed the next day for Argos; whence, after receiving their arrears, they marched for Continental Greece, leaving, henceforth, to the Moriots the care of defending their own country.

Highly grieved at the disaster, that had befallen the Greek army, the general discouragement it had produced, and by the reflection on the inevitable consequences this would give rise to, and the first of which was to see Neocastro abandoned to its fate, Mavrocordato hastened to that fortress, before the enemy, profiting by his victory, should blockade it more completely than he had hitherto done. Escorted by Vattino and the bishop of Modon, at the head of his three hundred Arcadians, we proceeded next morning to Gargagliano, a large village, commanding a fine view of the fertile plain below, the island of Prote, &c.

After dinner we marched for Old Navarino, the ancient Pylos, situated on a rocky promontory at the north-west extremity of the bay, which constitutes the port of Navarino. The distance before us was four leagues and a half. To prevent being surprised by the enemy, ten or twelve standard-bearers had been sent on before as *eclaireurs*, with orders, that in case they perceived the Turks, to fire three guns. As we drew near Petrochori, one of the soldiers in the van-guard in walking across a field, started a hare, and naturally enough thought he could do no better than shoot it. The report of the musket was enough to throw the whole troop, which consisted of more than five hundred men, into alarm. Halt was made; the cry, "Cavalry, cavalry," was repeated from mouth to mouth; and the soldiers, panic-struck, unanimously began flying with incredible speed in every direction. The chiefs, instead of encouraging the men by their presence of mind, did not even inquire into the fact; but flew full gallop up a neighbouring elevation. Upwards of an hour took place, before the troop could again be rallied, and following as closely as possible the sea-shore, we arrived an hour before night, on the beach of "sandy Pylos."

The ruins of its ancient castle, which even in modern times may be called impregnable, considering the steepness of the insulated rock which it crowns, are still visible; and a deep cavern exists a little below it, which bears the name of Nestor. It might, in the present circumstances, have been of much service to the Greeks, and been employed as an inexhaustible store-house, to supply the wants of the troops on the island, and in the fortress. This position, important in ancient times, was abandoned by the Venetians, whose interests being chiefly maritime, judged it more advantageous to defend the entrance of the

most convenient and beautiful port of Peloponnesus, and to this effect, built on the continent, and opposite the mouth of the bay, a new fortress, called by them Navarino; but by the Greeks Neocastro. They erected also on the island of Sphacteria, which forms the western outline of the bay, a small fort of which some remains still exist.

Old Navarino was now occupied by about four hundred men, who had intrenched themselves among the rocks, where they had also constructed the usual *tambouri*. Its preservation was justly looked upon as essential to that of Neocastro; being the only remaining point of communication it possessed with the main land, and by which it could receive provisions, reinforcements, &c. Once master of it, the enemy could, with the greatest facility, send troops to take possession of the island, from which it is separated by a fordable strait only three hundred yards broad. Aware of the importance of this point, Ibrahim had attacked it, soon after his arrival before Neocastro; but soon convinced of the impossibility of carrying on the undertaking by open force, he prudently renounced it for the moment.

The bishop of Modon commanded the troops, charged with the defence of this place; yet although he could not but expect being before long blockaded by the enemy, and though all the country, as far as Arcadia, abounded with every description of produce, he did not possess, it will scarcely be believed that he did not lay in provisions even for a week; but relied on the arrival of some from Anapli or Zante!

As soon as Captain Tsamado was apprised of Mavrocordato's arrival, he sent to invite him on board. Count Santa Rosa, Cavaliere Collegrio, and myself, accompanied him, and were hospitably entertained by that truly estimable Hydriot; who, to superior

merit, added what enhances them most, modesty and simplicity of manners. His countrymen ranked him among their most gallant sailors; and the garrison found him to be, on all occasions, an active, disinterested, courageous patriot. He had, a few days before, owing to counter orders, landed on the point of the island three brass eighteen-pounders, which he embarked at Anapli, with orders to convey them to Patras, the siege of which during the last six months had so much been spoken of, and which the *active* Conduriotti was, at his departure from Anapli, firmly determined on undertaking.

On Tsamado's requesting the soldiers of the garrison to assist him in the erection of a battery, on which to place these cannons, they replied, "this is no business of ours; for we are soldiers; not porters nor diggers." The love of his country operating on his mind above all other considerations, he began the work with his own hands, and thus animating the crew by his example, they set to the work, and terminated it in a few days. He informed us, that the only troops on the island were a hundred men, under the orders of Anagnostaia, who, instead of fulfilling the task, which had been given him by government, had in consequence of a quarrel between him and the capitani of the garrison, departed from Neocastro, and retired to one of the numerous caverns, that exist among the rocks of Sphacteria. There he lived in the midst of a plenty, which the fortress was very far from sharing; but to satisfy his revenge, he neglected bringing in the objects, necessary to its defence and maintenance; little considering the fatal consequences, such proceedings might entail upon his country*.

* I can truly assert, from almost daily inspection, that when I entered Neocastro, the whole of the provisions consisted in bis-

Next morning (April the 22d), we proceeded with Mavrocordato to Neocastro. He presented me to the chiefs, by whom I was heartily welcomed. As there were numerous, wounded and sick, I entered instantly into the performance of my professional duties. The greater part had received their wounds on the 20th, when, profiting by Ibrahim's absence, who on that day attacked the Greek camp at Fourgi, the garrison made a sortie, with the intention of taking the enemy's battery on Mount Saint Nichola, and nail its cannons. Suspecting the design of the Greeks, the Arabs had taken every necessary precaution to thwart it; and, in fact, on their appearance, received them with so much firmness and vigour, that, after mounting up only one half of the ascent, they precipitately retired.

A French Philhellene, a youth of nineteen, named Garelle, displayed, on this occasion, a courage which I feel a pleasure in recording. Ensign in the artillery brigade of Callergi, he placed himself (as is customary in Greek and Turkish armies) at the head of the soldiers who volunteered to make the sortie; and with the colours in one hand, and the sword in the other, undauntedly led the way. Disdaining to imitate the cowardly example of the rest, he rushed alone up the hill, and planted the Greek flag on the Turkish battery. Having thus given noble proofs of his valour, he received a wound in the head, and another in the face; when he began to consult his own safety, and was fortunate enough to re-enter the fortress with no further injury.

The Greeks had, on this occasion, fifteen killed on

cuit and flour for six weeks;—eighteen barrels of a pickled fish, called lacerda; fifteen of spoiled anchovies; olives and oil in abundance; and forty chests of vermicelli, accidentally left behind by a Genoese merchant.

the spot, and upwards of thirty wounded. Since the beginning of the siege, not more than sixty men had been wounded. The inclined position of the fortress, but above all, want of skill in the Turkish artillerists, were the chief causes of the trifling injury, hitherto suffered by the besieged. The bombs had indeed so much destroyed the houses of the town, that, with the exception of five or six, they were all levelled with the ground. The church being bomb-proof was therefore destined for the reception of the wounded.

The result of Mavrocordato's inquiries served to afford a complete and undeniable proof of the negligence of government, and to show how destitute of the means of resistance the fortress was, with the fate of which the most vital interests of Greece were intimately linked; since it defended not only the finest harbour of the Morea; but that, which, in every respect, suited the purposes of the enemy. Nine months before Ibrahim's arrival, informed positively of his intentions, could not the members of the executive dedicate a small portion of the loan to the wants of Neocastro? Or did the spirit of private revenge and cupidity so powerfully possess their minds, as not to allow them even to reflect on the necessities of their country, and the consequences of their improvidence? Could they not perceive, that as long as the Turks remained without a port in the Morea, their fleet never could undertake any thing of permanent consequence? Winter would always force them to retreat; and in the fine season, obliged to remain constantly at sea, they and their transports would always be exposed to be molested by the Greeks, and would have a thousand difficulties to surmount in order to land or embark troops, provisions, and materials of war, &c. But once in possession of Neocastro, the efforts

of the Greek navy would be almost entirely paralyzed; the sultan's vessels, and those of Mehmet Ali, might anchor in safety in its spacious bay, braving the winds and fireships; while Ibrahim might leisurely have prepared every enterprise, he determined upon.

A long list of the principal articles, indispensable to the besieged, was drawn out by Mavrocordato, and forwarded by him to the agent of the Greek government at Zante; but none of them were received by the garrison. Feeling, that a single moment was not to be lost to remedy the existing evils, lest Ibrahim should profit by the inadvertence of the Greeks, Mavrocordato left Neocastro on the very same day he had arrived; and hastened to rejoin Conduriotti, who had, at last, come down to Scala. He urgently represented to him the necessity of using every possible diligence and exertion, to thwart the designs of the enemy, before the return of his fleet from Candia; and to this the following objects were to be effected: viz. ordering a thousand men to occupy the island of Sphacteria; supplying them and the garrison of Old Navarino with ammunition and provisions for three months; constructing proper batteries on its point and opposite the few parts, where landing might be attempted; and supplying the imperious wants of the fortress.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

Description of Neocastro—Character of Stactouri—Conduct of Phoca—Battle of Neocastro—Turkish method of firing—Turkish fleet arrive off Modon—Battle—Distress of several Greeks in a cavern.

NEOCASTRO consists of two parts, the Kalè, or the fortifications and walls defending the town and harbour, and the Itchkalè, or the citadel. It is indispensable, in order to make the reader understand the manner in which the siege of this place was carried on, to dedicate a few lines to a description of its principal features. At each angle of the lowest wall of the town-fortifications exist batteries, composed of two stories. The outermost battery, which fronts the mouth of the harbour, mounts sixteen cannons. The eight below are thirty-six pounders; those above are twelve and eighteen pounders. Beysadè Torjachi was intrusted with the defence of the lowermost story; and Tatraco with that of the uppermost. The innermost battery, which is exactly similar to the one described, was now completely walled. It had been built only to act against ships, that have once cleared the first battery, and penetrated into the port. A weak wall, about a hundred and eighty yards in length, connects these two large batteries. A semicircular tower mounted with four six-pounders exists in its middle. A long wall, four hundred yards in length, runs up from each of these sea batteries, and, connecting them with the citadel, form the precincts of the town, which formerly consisted of upwards of three hundred houses. These walls, little more than six feet in thickness, are unprotected by

exterior ditches; and are defended merely by two batteries mounted each with six twelve-pounders.

The palicharia of Cranidiotti, Tsecri, Zavella, and detachments from the different other capitani, lined the whole extent of these walls *.

* So totally inexperienced were the Greeks in the art of resistance in besieged towns, as not even to have an idea of the force of projectiles. All around the rampart wall, they had raised their usual *tambouri*, made of loose stones, piled together; and, concealed behind them, they watched an opportunity of picking off an incautious enemy. It was in vain represented to them, that this practice was attended with considerable danger; and that whenever a ball struck the tambouri, numerous individuals were exposed to be killed or seriously wounded by the stones, it would cause to fly about in every direction. Several, in order to protect themselves against the explosion of shells, erected small sheds with two or three planks, and laid themselves down under them at night; crying with all their might, *guardia alesta* (the watchword); till overpowered by sleep, they reposed with as much security as under the roofs of their quiet villages. How many were in this position surprised by death! Others, childish enough to believe firmly, that the surest way of preventing the explosion of a shell, was striking it with a leaden ball, stood ever ready with their muskets or rifles, watching when one was about to fall near them, to discharge their pieces against it. Whenever it did not burst, they assumed the merit of that accident to themselves; when it did, to their having missed their aim.—It was for us, Franks, a source of no small entertainment, to listen at night to the singular conversations, which were habitually carried on between the Greek sentinels and Turkish outposts. It began in general with much apparent harmony; the most striking news of the day were rehearsed; often with much humour, and that natural ironical air, congenial to most Roumeliots, till the party, to which they were most unfavourable, vented the most insulting epithets on the other. The most opprobrious words, possessed by the Greek language, were then mutually interchanged; they then threatened one another in the most braggart manner, related the cruelties they had practised, insulted their respective creeds and leaders, &c. till those, who found themselves weakest in this altercation, terminated it by a discharge of musketry against their opponents. Often were they separated and reduced to momentary silence by a Greek, who, possessed of a remarkably fine voice, began singing revolutionary

The citadel, constructed on the more elevated portion of the rocky declivity, on which Neocastro stands, commands the town entirely; and by closing its own gate, becomes completely separated from it. Its batteries, which are constructed so as to defend it chiefly on the land side, were mounted by about twenty-four pieces. But as it is commanded by three surrounding eminences, there can be no doubt, that, if properly besieged by an European force, it could offer but a very transient resistance. In 1770, Orloff, having established his batteries a little below the small chapel of Saint Nichola, succeeded, in a few days, in making a large breach in the walls of the citadel, and thus compelled the garrison to capitulate. Instead of imitating his example, the effects of which are to this day visible, the reparation of the breach being very apparent close to the eastern gate, Ibrahim chose on the slope of Mount Saint Nichola a more elevated position for the erection of his battery. It had not only the disadvantage of being exposed to the fire of the Greek vessels, as they entered and left the harbour, and to that of half the batteries of Neocastro; but, being more distant from the walls, and striking them in a slanting direction, his cannons, which were mostly eighteen-pounders, could act but very feebly against them. The portion of the wall, selected by the enemy to open his breach, was equally injudiciously chosen. Had he, after making it, ventured on storming, and succeeded in scaling it, his troops would have penetrated merely into the town; while the besieged, shutting themselves up in the

songs, and those, celebrating the exploits of the Greeks, since the beginning of the revolution; and such is the power of music to "soothe the savage breast" that Ibrahim himself would come down from his tent, to listen to the melody of our Tyrtæus; and make him the handsomest offers to induce him to go over to his service.

fortress, by directing the fire of its batteries and their musketry against them, would have massacred them all. The ignorance of Turkish artillerists was strikingly exemplified by the manner in which they sought to practise the breach. Instead of adopting the European method of firing, first, according to two perpendicular lines, and then in a horizontal one; and thus terminating it in twenty-four hours; they directed their random-shots without the slightest method; and were so many days before they attained their purpose, that the besieged had ample time to construct not one, but ten counter breaches. The defence of the citadel was intrusted to Macrojani, Jerasimo Phoca, a Bulgarian capitano, the two Callergis, the governor, &c.

During the whole of the time, D. Stactouri remained with us, he displayed on every occasion much zeal, energy, firmness, and surprising patience. His courage was great; yet, notwithstanding his best intentions, he could not perform his duty any better than a man, who has spent all his life on board a merchant-ship; nor could he help hourly committing the most ludicrous blunders. His inflexible temper forced the ever-jarring capitani to observe his orders; but the establishment of even the shadow of discipline and subordination among the soldiers was too herculean a task for him to achieve. Out of many instances, it may be mentioned, that, notwithstanding the scantiness of our ammunition, every one, who chose, might fire the cannons *ad libitum;* draw water out of the cisterns, although only three existed in the fortress; leave his watch when sleepy; enter into conversation with the enemy; leave the fortress, &c. &c. In vain did Stactouri attempt, also, to reform that abuse, now sanctioned by long custom, of the capitani receiving twice and even three times more rations, than they had men. The mere proposal of

giving every soldier his ration would inevitably have produced a revolution in the garrison, against the governor. Had these additional provisions been consumed or put by, the evil would not have been so crying; but they were either wantonly wasted, or when an opportunity presented itself, sold to the Zantiot boats, which conveyed water to the fortress; to the captains of the ships which brought us provisions; and even to the Spezziots: and so great was the liberty allowed to every soldier, of leaving the fortress, whenever he felt disposed, that upwards of three hundred (mostly Moriots) gradually disappeared under various pretexts.

Some time after our arrival, an empty Mainot bombarda entered a little before night the port of Navarino, and came to anchor close to the fortress. All that could be learned from the captain was, that he had brought letters to Beysadè from his father Petrobey. As the dissatisfaction of the Mainots and their chief was well known, and it had been observed, that, instead of impeding the desertion of his men, he had rather encouraged it; strong suspicions naturally arose, that this ship had been sent, at his request, to embark himself with the remaining part of his troop. This was the more practicable, as the sea-gate had entirely been intrusted to their charge. Determined to impede this, Stactouri invited Torjachi to an assembly of the capitani, which was always held in the fortress; and in the meanwhile signified to the bombarda, that unless she instantly departed, the fire of the batteries would be opened against her. From that day Beysadè was lodged in the citadel, and the sea-gate intrusted to another.

Capitano Panagi Phoca, under the plea of bringing wine and fresh provisions, departed with forty men for Philiatra; but, like Noah's dove, having found

there a pleasant resting-place, he forgot to return to the ark. A few days before, the men of Nicola Zavella grew so outrageous, that it was deemed prudent to allow them to leave Neocastro; whose garrison thus insensibly dwindled below a thousand. Let it be remembered, too, at the same time, that the island of Sphacteria was at this very moment perfectly defenceless.

But the smallness of the numbers, composing the garrison, though itself a just motive of alarm, did not so much warrant sinister apprehensions for the future, as the moral disposition of the soldiers. So completely ignorant of the simplest principles of the art of resistance were they, as not to know even how to load a cannon; much less to point it; and yet they presumptuously disdained listening to the advice of Philhellenes*;—men of the very first merit even in their own countries; and who accompanied their disinterested counsels with the warmest entreaties. The soldiers hourly murmured against their capitani, who, deceiving them by fair assurances, had led them to a place, where the shameful negligence of government exposed them to certain loss; but, as if inspired

* After Cavaliere Collegno and Count Santa Rosa, the most interesting Frank in the fortress, was a major, belonging to the illustrious Venetian family of Cornaro. He had come to Greece, after the disasters of the constitutional party in Spain, with Colonel Fabrier and Delong. He now found himself, by mere chance, at Neocastro, where he had come to reclaim from the eparch some cases of books and instruments, left in his charge by the colonel on his departure from this fortress, where he had the intention of settling. But the instruments were not to be found; and as to the valuable and expensive works, they had served to wrap up the butter and caviari, sold by the town shopkeepers. He gave me some details relative to the colonel, and his unfortunate attempt on Coron; which I propose publishing in the SECOND PART of these Memoirs, as they are strongly illustrative of the Greek character, as well as of his own firmness.

by fatality, at the same time that they spoke of starvation as imminent, they wasted the provisions with the most wanton prodigality. The Moriots, especially, were loudest in their complaints; and bitterly vented themselves against Conduriotti and his friends; who, after destroying the sinews of their country, employing the national loan and public revenues to entertain civil broils, and enrich themselves, did not show themselves worthy of preventing the landing of Arabs, and preserve a place so important and so easily defended as Neocastro.

To the ill-directed attacks of the enemy, a feeble and ineffectual resistance was offered by the disheartened Greeks; and although all our batteries on the south of the fortifications were directed against his, so very little injury was inflicted on the Egyptians, from the beginning of the siege, that all the firing of the garrison was little better than mere waste of powder and shot. During a fortnight, Ibrahim bombarded us with great activity and precision, from a battery of nine mortars, which he had erected on the north-east of the fortress. But, comparatively speaking, he did not cause us much harm; for, on account of the great elevation given to the shells, their direction could easily be remarked, and in general every one, at the cry of *bomba! bomba!* uttered by the sentinels in the *videttes*, had time to take shelter under the arched vaults, which are purposely constructed around the walls of the citadel, and in many parts of the town wall. It is right here to remark, how much the present Turks have degenerated from their ancestors; who, in almost every branch of military science, and in that of besieging fortresses especially, showed themselves, even in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, so much superior to the best troops of Christendom. The energy, resolution, intrepidity,

and skill exhibited by the Mussulman troops, during the prolonged and arduous sieges of Rhodes, Candia, Nicosia, Famagousta, Anapli, Modon, &c. are unrivalled in the annals of nations. Even their rivals acknowledged their inferiority: "Essendo molto maggiore la perizia e la virtù de suoi soldati nell' espugnare le fortezze, che non era l' arte e l' industria de christiani nel fabbricarle o nel diffenderle, come s' avea per tante esperienze potuto conoscere."—*P. Paruta, Istoria della Guerra di Cipro.*

But now, even the *improved* soldiers of Mehmet Ali, which are looked upon as the flower of the Ottoman troops, showed themselves, here and in other places, incapable of rescuing an ill-fortified place out of the hands of a Greek peasantry, totally unacquainted with the first elements of war.

On the 1st of May, the combined Egyptian and Turkish fleet was perceived off Modon, composed of upwards of sixty sail. It was returning, for the third time this year, from Candia, having now on board Husseim Bey Giritli; the troops, horses, beasts of burden, &c. left by Ibrahim on that island; or which had arrived there after his departure. To the great disappointment of the pasha, the Albanian troops of Husseim Bey had refused to embark; insisting on the full payment of their arrears before they crossed over to Peloponnesus. The Ottoman fleet was followed by a Greek division of thirty-five sail under Miavuli. As usual, although at more than three miles distance, the two fleets were firing their broadsides, as actively as if in close engagement. Husseim Bey observing, on his arrival, how ineffectual the efforts of Ibrahim had hitherto been against Neocastro, represented to him, how much more expeditiously and safely, he would force that place to surrender, by possessing himself of Old Navarino, and the island of Sphacteria (properly the key of the

harbour), and thus cutting our land and sea communications entirely off. Once master of Sphacteria, not only would he direct its battery against us, but, by sailing into the port with his fleet, he would reduce the fortress to atoms, should it persist in resisting.

These sensible counsels were approved of immediately by Ibrahim, and his divan; and Husseim Bey, whose talents as general, and courage as soldier, were universally acknowledged, was thought the most qualified person to preside at the attack of the island. Soliman Bey was directed to follow him with his regiment, which now was three thousand strong, in order to justify the hopes he had inspired in his new co-religionaries. On the 6th of May the troops embarked; and two thousand irregulars volunteered to accompany them. Ibrahim took upon himself to attack the position of Old Navarino, now occupied by the bishop of Modon, Chagi Cristo, and other minor capitani, whom Mavrocordato had prevailed upon to come to the defence of Neocastro. The secretary of state, whose zeal and activity, since his departure from Tripolitza, were highly praiseworthy, had this day returned from Scala, and passed in person over to the island; where he convoked the navy captains, Anagnostaia, Stactouri, our governor, &c., to deliberate on the best means of putting the island in a state of defence, so as to thwart the intended attack of the enemy.

After reconnoitring the place, the determination was taken, of bringing three cannons to protect the points, where a landing appeared most practicable. The other parts of the island were thought to be sufficiently defended by perpendicular rocks. Capitano Zocri, whose terrific looks reminded those who had witnessed his cowardice, of an ass in a lion's skin, received the order of repairing there with two hundred and fifty men, taken from our garrison. Four

hundred more crossed over from Old Navarino; so that with the soldiers of Mavrocordato and Anagnostaia, the different positions were lined with from eight to nine hundred men. Count Santa Rosa, whose firmness and resolution remained unshaken by ill treatment, and what proved to him more galling yet, the contemptuous sneers, with which his counsels had been constantly slighted by the capitani of the garrison, insisted, notwithstanding the entreaties of his friends, on accompanying Zocri. A detachment of the Callergi company went with him; and, assisted by the Greek sailors, undertook serving the principal battery. Tamado, with some of his sailors, charged himself with the carronade, defending the weakest point of the island, and where, in all probability, the enemy would attempt landing. During the whole day, the fleet was prevented by the weather and the Greek ships from approaching the island. Ibrahim, after having some useless skirmishes with the troops at Old Navarino, retired in the evening, to Petrochori and Talova; positions from which he effectually blockaded the Greeks.

The next morning (May the 7th) the weather was fine and calm, the Greek division at many miles distance, and every circumstance favourable to the execution of the enemy's design. Forty-six ships, ten of which were frigates and corvettes, gradually drew close to the island; while the remaining portion of the fleet cruised before the mouth of the port, to watch the movements of the five Greek ships within. About nine o'clock the cannonade began. After it had been kept up incessantly for more than two hours, Husseim Bey made the signal to the troops to enter the boats. Placing himself in the foremost one, he ordered them to follow without firing; and the Turkish vessels to suspend their fire, and depart as

soon as the boats returned. The Greek musketry opened against the advancing Egyptians, and their balls fell like hail around them. Husseim leaped, undismayed, sword in hand, on shore; and, followed by Soliman Bey, rushed towards the battery of Tsamado. The Arab drums sounded the charge, and animated by its sounds and the cries of *Allah! Allah!* the disciplined troops advanced intrepidly with crossed bayonets against the frail tambouri of the Greeks. Terrified by this mode of fighting, to which they were strangers, and which they could not oppose, having themselves no bayonets, and overpowered by numbers, the Greeks precipitately betook themselves to flight. This cowardly example so rapidly influenced the rest, that, in less than half an hour after the landing of the Egyptians, we perceived from the fortress the Mussulman crescent and green standards coming down the heights of Sphacteria, and the Arabs actively pursuing the Greeks, who bounded from rock to rock with unavailing nimbleness. A few, however, seeing death inevitable, disdained falling so ingloriously. The most conspicuous of these were the brave Tsamado, several Hydriots, Stavro Sacchini, Count Santa Rosa, &c. Mavrocordáto, who, from the beginning of the affair, had kept aloof, very nearly escaped falling into the hands of the enemy. He owed his life on this occasion to his followers, who seeing him on the ground in a complete state of syncope, conveyed him to the Hydriot boat belonging to Tsamado. Closely pursued by the Arabs, Stactouri leapt into the sea, and succeeded in swimming to the ship of Tsamado, of which he assumed the command. As soon as the Greeks in the ships, at anchor in the harbour, saw the overthrow of their countrymen, after waiting a short time for the return of their sailors, who were on the island, fearing lest the enemy should

turn the cannons of the battery against them, and also lest the Turkish ships should enter the port and destroy them, if they no longer delayed their flight, they cut their cables; and, assisted by a breeze which providentially sprung up, were fortunate enough to make their way through the numerous bulky vessels of the Egyptian division, which sought in vain to prevent them. Tsamado's ship remained alone behind. The sailors would not leave the port without their captain. Alas! they waited in vain. They gave up all hopes only when they saw the Arabs actually lining the shore, and firing on their boat. It was impossible not to feel a lively interest, on seeing this single merchant brig, mounted with fourteen carronades, boldly advancing upon the huge men-of-war of the enemy; or to forbear invoking the assistance of Providence, on observing the active manner, in which it defended itself against upwards of forty vessels; the smallest of which was sufficient to sink it. So great was the terror, inspired by the Hydriots in the Turkish sailors, that instead of endeavouring to intercept its passage, or attempting to board it, they endeavoured to make full sail, in order to avoid the encounter of what they thought a fire-ship. Heartfelt was our joy, on perceiving it escape, unhurt, from a conflict, the most unequal, and, perhaps, the most gallant of any recorded in ancient or modern times. Had not the clumsiness of the gunners on board the Turkish fleet been beyond what any one could have imagined, it might appear fabulous, that, after being exposed for upwards of two hours to the broadsides of a whole fleet, the above mentioned five vessels not only escaped destruction, but had altogether not twenty men killed. Indeed the closer the low Greek ship lies to a huge Turkish one, the less liable it is to be injured. For the Turks are in the habit of firing on the same level,

without making the least allowance for difference of elevation or distance, so that little damage is done, except to the mast and rigging; and even this is, in general, so little, that Lord Byron quaintly, but justly, observed, that "Turkish artillerymen were to be feared only when they did not take aim."

About a hundred Greeks had time to save themselves by crossing the ford to Old Navarino. Tsocri and Œconomapoulo were among the first. Six individuals succeeded in swimming to Neocastro, many were drowned in the attempt, and the rest were killed or surrendered to the enemy. Amongst the former was Anagnostara; the news of whose death occasioned unrestricted joy to the capitani of the garrison. For it seemed in the eyes of most, to be a compensation for the loss of Sphacteria. Griva, who had a private enmity against him, exclaimed on hearing it; "Happen what will, now this *keratà* is no more!"

About two hundred prisoners were sent to Modon; among whom was the brother of Capitan Zaphiropoulo, who had been taken at Fourgi, Catzaro, captain of Mavrocordato's body-guard, a German named Becker, &c. Truth compels me here to add, that, before surrendering or receiving the fatal blow, the Greeks in general threw down their arms, and weeping like women, implored the mercy of the enemy.

Considerable booty fell on this occasion to the lot of the Arabs; as most of the Greeks were Roumeliots, wearing arms decked with silver, and having purses well lined with sequins and sovereigns. Not to mention others, Catzaro had, besides his splendid arms, the value of one thousand five hundred dollars around his waist. Yet before the revolution this man was a vineyard keeper at Vrachori. He had amassed this sum, considerable for Greece, while in Mavrocordato's service. So universal indeed is the spirit of

accumulation among the Greeks, that similar and even much more striking instances of sudden wealth are far from being uncommon. Several had concealed themselves in the numerous natural caverns found on this island; but as the Turkish natives of Neocastro were well acquainted with the spots, they were soon discovered, and we repeatedly saw them shot in the act of surrendering. In the most spacious of these caverns, the Greeks, who amounted to upwards of eighty, continued to defend themselves so actively during two days, that, unwilling uselessly to expose his troops, Hussein Bey ordered a brig to anchor opposite its mouth, and to fire into it with ball and grape-shot. Seeing their doom certain, if they continued in this position, the Greeks offered at last to surrender, on condition, that their lives were spared; but having fallen into the hands of some Moriot Turks, who never gave quarter, they were, in retaliation for the cruelties, practised by their countrymen on this very island, put to death, without exception. I knew afterwards a Turk from Phanari, who assured me that he killed with his own hands, Anagnostara. In fact he wore his arms.

Close to this cavern there is a narrow fissure in the rocks, into which thirteen individuals had crept. So well was it concealed by projecting stones, that they escaped discovery; but the aperture was so low, that they were compelled to remain extended on the belly; not being able even to raise their heads. Three days they remained in this fatiguing position, continually tormented by the horrible sensation of suffocation, by thirst and hunger; but how cruel soever their bodily sufferings were, they were trifling in comparison with the torturing agitation, they hourly endured, on hearing the voices of the

blood-thirsty soldiers in search of more prey, and the shrieks and groans of the half-murdered Greeks slowly expiring in the midst of tortures, and on tremblingly reflecting that a similar fate, perhaps in a few moments, awaited them. What aggravated the horror of their position still more, and increased their fears, was the circumstance of one of their companions being mortally wounded. Martyrised by the thirst a burning fever and profuse hemorrhage brought upon him, in vain he sought to restrain the groans, which the lingering agony of death forced him to utter. Were they but heard, by the Turks, the doom of every one was fixed. Fortunately for them, however, he expired in twenty-four hours.

At the end of the third day one of them, who knew how to swim, favoured by the obscurity of night, succeeded, unperceived, in stealing down to the shore; and, assisted by despair, arrived at Neocastro. No sooner did he inform us of the position of his companions, than a boat, belonging to some Zantiots, was got ready. Some Hydriots volunteered to row it. They slowly drew, at the dead of night, near the spot where they impatiently awaited his return. The voice of the sweetest angel of mercy could not bring more joy to the unfortunate plunged in the abyss of despair, than the whisper by which he invited his desponding companions to follow him, with all possible precaution. They descended to the small promontory behind which lay the boat. Their feelings, when they precipitated themselves into it, may be conceived. The noise they then made, and that of the departing oars, drew the attention of the drowsy Turkish sentinels. They sounded the alarm, and a lively but useless fire was made upon the now happy Greeks, who could have replied with huzzas of exulta-

tion, had they not feared to draw the attention of the Turkish ships, which, after entering the port, had anchored close to the island.

I gladly saw, among these individuals, three persons whom I knew. Two of these had been formerly patients of mine, belonging to Mavrocordato's body-guard. The third was a Philhellene, named Ernest, belonging to a respectable family at Zurich. It was singular to observe the striking moral change, which the horrible position, in which he had remained during three days, had wrought on this young man. Instead of rejoicing at having so miraculously escaped, and reassuming his former liveliness on finding himself amongst the Franks, he exhibited, during several days, all the symptoms of mental derangement. His looks were savage, his humour sullen, peevish, and fretful; he muttered curses against those, who showed him most kindness; sought solitude; and sat sulkily in a corner of the vault where I lodged, shedding abundance of tears. The danger, to which we were during several days exposed, contributed, no doubt, to maintain him in this state; and it was only when the capitulation was granted to the garrison, that he became himself again.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

Condition of the Greeks at Old Navarino—Battle—Ibrahim's offers—Conduct of Beysadè—Gallant conduct of Miaouli—Ibrahim's offers to the Greeks—At length accepted.

WHILE the Turkish fleet and the castle of Modon were celebrating, with incessant discharges of artillery, their late victory over the giaours, the greatest consternation spread itself among the soldiers of the garrison. They now began to reflect on what had been so often repeated to them, that their own safety was linked to the preservation of the island; and the sight of their imminent danger inspired them with as much pusillanimity, as they had formerly displayed contemptuous security.

The Greeks at Old Navarino were in a predicament still more alarming; the departure of Tsamado's ship having left them entirely bereft of provisions and ammunitions. No alternative remained now for them, between surrendering and forcing their way across the enemy's ranks. They adopted the last resolution, and on the night of the 8th, they sought to execute their design; but found all the passes so well occupied by the Egyptians, and so heavy a fire opened upon them from all sides, that, with the exception of a few, they all returned to their former position. Chagi Cristo, the bishop of Modon, and several others, were then taken prisoners. The next day, Ibrahim sent a flag of truce to the Greeks, who had now intrenched themselves within the walls of the castle, that stands on the summit of the rock, in order to inform them, that he knew exactly from

the relation of his prisoners, the destitute nature of their position, and which must render all further resistance useless. It was in his power, he said, to allow them to die of hunger. To prove to them, however, that he had been sent by his father, not to destroy the rayas, but to induce them quietly to submit to his power, by convincing them of the temerity of attempting to withstand a force so much superior to theirs, he was willing to permit them to return to their homes after giving up their arms and baggage. Under the influence of the satisfaction with which his success inspired him, and the utter contempt he had imbibed of Greek courage, he disdainfully added, that, if they chose, they might again prepare to fight, since it would afford him sport for another day. He compared himself to those animals of prey, which, glutted with carnage, play with their victim before they kill it. The Greeks were happy to accept the pasha's proposals; and he, true to his word, allowed them to depart, unmolested, after receiving their arms and money.

On the 10th, about fifty of the largest Turkish men-of-war entered the port; and, placing themselves before the fortress, opened against it a heavy fire. No nation can fire with more rapidity than the Turks; and had their artillery been but tolerably directed, the fortifications of the town might, in a few hours, have been entirely destroyed. Yet though their cannon balls, united to those of the land batteries, all of which were directed against us, might actually be said to obscure the air, and several, out of so many thousands, fell into the citadel; the besieged received, comparatively speaking, but little injury. The greater part of them were so much overshot, that, falling into the Turkish intrenchments around the citadel, they killed several soldiers, and might

have destroyed still more, had not Ibrahim, informed of this, despatched orders to the ships immediately to desist firing.

The deafening roar, produced by the discharge of so many cannon, actually stupified the Greeks. The efforts and counsels of Collegno were in vain. Every one vociferated and commanded; but nobody obeyed. Collegno, however, continued fulfilling his duty as private cannoneer; till he was disabled by a strong contusion, he received on the shoulder, from a stone, against which a cannon-ball had struck. The miserable fire of the Greeks was soon over. The powder magazine of the lower battery having, through the imprudence of a soldier, who entered it with a lighted match, blown up, fifteen of the men who served the pieces were killed; and this circumstance so completely discouraged the rest, that every one had abandoned his post to seek shelter, wherever he thought most advisable. Recourse was then had to public prayers; and the three Papas, we had in the garrison, mustered all the images of male and female saints in the place; and began carrying them in procession around the ramparts. So deaf were all the saints of Paradise to the nasal litany of these orthodox ministers, that Papa Sarella himself, although he bore in his hands the finest image of the Virgin, was seriously wounded in the head, by the explosion of a shell; which fell among and dispersed the devotees. The smart made him so much forget the respect due to the Panagia, that he threw her down, saying in his rage; "Perdition upon thee; since thou couldst not save even thy worshipper from this evil hour!" with other impious expressions.

The Turks soon after imitated our example, in compliance with Ibrahim's order, who now employed, the more to dishearten the garrison, a stratagem per-

haps more effectual than the last. Chagi Cristo and the bishop of Modon (the principal author of the cruelties practised by the Greeks on the Turkish garrison of Neocastro) were sent by him before the wall of the citadel, to speak with the different capitani of the garrison. On these answering their call, they related to them the manner, in which they had been taken; and how "misery had joined them in equal ruin." They besought them to profit by their example, and to reflect, that certain ruin awaited them, should they persist in opposing, or rather uselessly provoking, a force so gigantically superior to their dwarfy endeavours.

Beysade Torjachi, indignant to hear such propositions, ordered his men to fire on those impostors; who, by assuming false names, he said, hoped to weaken the courage of the soldiers. But the blow, Ibrahim had meditated, was already given. How changed and downcast soever their looks, they had been known by too many to allow the garrison to doubt the fact. The venom, thus introduced, had already began to circulate, and to sap the yet remaining stamina of their courage. During the whole night, the enemy continued to throw bombs incessantly; and next morning (11th) we perceived a new battery above the Varoushi, or Greek suburbs of Neocastro; and the men busy in drawing towards it twelve large guns, which had been disembarked from the ships. Three large men-of-war had, also, placed themselves in the same direction. These preparations augmented our fears the more, as we knew that the northern wall of the town, against which this new attack was directed, could be overthrown in a few hours.

Towards noon, a Greek prisoner, sent by Ibrahim, was drawn by means of a rope into the fortress; and on being presented before the assembled capitani, he

told them, that Ibrahim had desired him to inform them, that, as they might easily convince themselves by looking around them, he had taken every measure to prevent the garrison from receiving the slightest assistance by sea or by land; or making its escape. He had defeated their army at Fourgi, and forced it to retreat. He had disarmed or destroyed the other corps; and the Greek fleet, seeing him master of the port and island, had returned to Hydra. Could they therefore hope to escape, when upwards of twenty thousand men occupied all the surrounding positions? Would it not be madness in them to attempt resisting, when upwards of a thousand cannon, and, if necessary, as many more, stood ready, at the first signal, to carry death and destruction? Influenced by different motives, than those which governed other Mussulmen, he disdained to destroy so weak an opponent; and wishing, if possible, not to injure further a fortress which, of right, belonged to the sultan; his generosity and compassion had led him to propose to them to surrender in time; and they might rely on his word, that he would allow them to depart as safely as the Greeks, who had lately capitulated at Old Navarino.

These propositions produced a deep sensation on the hearers. For they could not conceal from themselves, how applicable the words of Ibrahim were to their condition. They knew, that their supply of water and biscuit could, at most, last them but a month; and that forty barrels of gunpowder only remained in the fortress. Repeated experience had convinced them of their incapacity, and they felt besides, even under the most favourable circumstances, they never could withstand so formidable an enemy. As to assistance from without, they could expect none. These and other reasons prompted them to

listen with a favourable ear to what was addressed to them. But what most decided the capitani to enter into negotiations with the enemy, were the loud murmurs of the soldiers; who said, that a sufficient number of their companions had already been wounded and killed in the defence of Neocastro; and that they had sufficiently exposed their lives for so improvident a government. Strangers in Peloponnesus, was it not absurd in them to persist in sacrificing themselves for the preservation of a fortress, which the Moriots themselves abandoned to its fate; and to leave their own country open to the inroads of the Albanians? They urgently insisted that no time should be lost in immediately treating with Ibrahim, and profiting by the good disposition, in which he now was, to grant them lenient conditions. All further resistance, they said, would not only be useless, but that ill-timed obstinacy might exasperate him so much, as to render him unwilling to grant a capitulation when they should ask for it. Now that they had still some slight means of resistance, they might pretend to the mildest terms. But their supplies, once exhausted, they would be entirely at Ibrahim's discretion and mercy.

Beysade was the only one, who opposed these dastardly proposals. He bitterly reproached the soldiers with their indifference to the ignominy of giving up their arms, and returning to their families, like droves of women. He for himself, a Spartan by birth, would recollect the words of the Lacedemonian mother to her son when putting on his arms to depart for the war: "Return with them, or upon them." But, if every noble feeling had lost its power on their hearts, how could fear so far have blinded them, as to allow them to place any reliance on the words of a Turk, whose tenets they knew to be never to hold faith with infidels? Did they not perceive, that Ibrahim's

conduct towards the Greeks, who surrendered at Old Navarino, was only the better to conceal the snare, he had laid against them? Could they reasonably conceive, that, forgetting the cruelties, practised by the Greeks on the Turkish families, which surrendered the fortress, on the same conditions now offered to them, the Mussulmen would suffer the opportunity to escape of avenging the blood of their coreligionaries, shed, as it was, in violation of the most solemn oaths? Cowards only could assert, that succours would never arrive. Could they suppose, that his own father, the whole of Maïna, the brothers of Iatraco, and the friends and relations of the other capitani, would not use every exertion to come to their rescue; long before their provisions were exhausted? For, if used sparingly, they would last above two months. But, granting even that assistance were hopeless, was it not more glorious, after resisting to the last, to make their way, sword in hand, through the enemy's camp? Then, at least, some might escape; whereas, were they to surrender now, a shameful and cruel death would, there could be little doubt, become the general doom. He then added in a decided tone: "Let those, who please, now leave the fortress. As for me, and all those who are worthy the name of Hellen, we will shut ourselves up in the citadel; and, when reduced to extremities, we will bury ourselves under its ruins, sooner than fall into the hands of such a cruel and perfidious enemy."

On some Roumeliots endeavouring, soon after, to prove to him the improbability of his assertions, and the rashness of his advice; he burst into a violent rage against them; and after exclaiming, "Shameless women! war, and nothing but war, must decide our fate," he rushed up the rampart wall, and waving his sword towards the Turks, cried out with all his

might, "We will not hear of ——." Several soldiers, dreading the consequences of his words, hastened to seize him by the *fustanella;* and before he could finish the sentence, brought him down by main force, and conducted him to a vault under the gateway, which they did not allow him to leave for some days.

It was at last decided by the majority of the capitani, that the most advisable steps to be followed, on the present emergency, were, first, writing a letter to the government, informing them of the distressed situation of the garrison; and requesting them to use every exertion, to send assistance by sea or by land before the 21st, otherwise they should be under the necessity of surrendering*.

In the evening, Ibrahim, enraged at not having yet received an answer, again opened his fire. Towards nine o'clock in the evening, we heard in the direction of Modon a lively cannonade; and some time after a tremendous explosion. The strong convulsions of light, which illumined the horizon, convinced us soon, that either the castle, or some man-of-war in the roads was on fire. Shortly after another, then a third, then several explosions took place. It was now clear, that this could only be the effect of some bold design, executed by the Greek fire-ships; and hope again began to re-animate the soldiers of the garrison.

We learned, the same night, from a Bosnian in Ibrahim's army, who was, every evening, in the habit of conversing with a townsman of his in the Greek service, the details of this event, which had given rise to so many conjectures amongst us. But the

* The sheet, on which the letter was written, was burned at the four corners; a mark used in the Levant to signify "imminent distress."

following narrative is drawn up from the testimony of many trust-worthy eye-witnesses, whom I afterwards knew at Modon. Anxious to wipe off the reproach, which his countrymen might make for having allowed the enemy to land unmolested on Sphacteria, the gallant Miaouli, having observed that a portion of the Turkish ships were at anchor off Modon Castle, formed the plan of burning them. Assisted by a favourable easterly wind, he unexpectedly presented himself in the evening with his division; and while his vessels bore directly upon the large Tunisian and Egyptian ships, which were anchored close under the island of Sapienza, and put them to flight, his brulots succeeded in setting fire to the Asia, of seventy-four guns, and to two corvettes. The other ships, the captains of which were all making their *kiéf* on shore, were immediately abandoned by the greater part of their crews; and eleven of them fell a sacrifice to the flames. Most of these lay so close to the town, that, on their blowing up, a shower of burning pieces of timber fell upon the houses, and even on the roofs of the powder magazines. The inhabitants and soldiers looking on the destruction of the town as unavoidable, precipitately fled out of the gate; and indeed had not chance singularly disappointed Miaouli's design, the fortress, with all the provisions, ammunition, and stores of the Egyptian army deposited in it, would have been blown up; the hopes of Ibrahim annihilated in an instant; and Greece liberated from her most terrible enemy.

This event could not but strongly alarm the Turkish sailors, then in the harbour of Neocastro. Being, therefore, in hourly dread of Miaouli's entering the harbour, they drew their ships further in; and, judging from the terror and confusion, that

had possessed their minds, there can be no doubt, that, had the Greek fire-ships acted more in conformity with our wishes, they might, with as much facility, have committed much greater havoc.

On the 13th, in conformity with the resolution of the garrison, Macrojani, after receiving the necessary instructions, went to the pasha's tent, when he signified, that before entering into negotiation, the Greeks insisted on an immediate suspension of hostilities. This being granted, he stated, that the garrison could not but feel much surprised, how Ibrahim, informed, as he must be, of the means yet remaining in their hands of prolonged resistance, could have proposed, that they should surrender on conditions, exactly similar to those, which the necessity of their position only could have forced the troops at Old Navarino to accept. Determined to sacrifice their existence sooner than their honour, the Greeks would capitulate only on the following conditions: first, to embark with their arms and baggage on board English men-of-war. Secondly, to receive from the pasha the payment of the arrears, due to them by the government, as well as the value of the ammunition and provisions, they would leave in the fortress. Thirdly, to receive three hostages of their choice, as guarantees of the punctual execution of the capitulation.

Ibrahim replied to these demands, by observing that, in the most favourable circumstances, neither his dignity, as Pasha or as a Mussulman, could permit, that rayas, who had fought against him, should, after capitulating, depart with their arms. Although their danger was not quite so imminent as that of their countrymen at Old Navarino, it was however as certain, and perhaps even more unavoidable. But

he would spare them partly out of humanity, and partly because he wished to terminate, as soon as possible, the subjection of the Morea. Without disturbing their worthy friends, the English, or asking hostages, they should trust to his word of honour, as their countrymen had done a few days before; and return by land, as they had done, to Anapli. He could not but express his indignation at the foolish proposal, of his paying arrears to men, who had fought against him. If they were not ashamed of making such a demand, he at least thought it below his character to grant it; lest it should be said, that he had obtained Neocastro by money, and not by arms.

This energetic answer of the pasha produced a most lively sensation on the minds of the soldiers. They immediately construed his refusal to allow them to embark on board English men-of-war, or to give hostages, into a determination to act treacherously towards them. The motives, which chiefly confirmed them in this idea, were the incessant threats of the Moriot Turks, and the exulting expressions of joy with which they hourly hailed the thought, that the day would come when they could appease the yet unrevenged shades of their friends and relatives. The greatest confusion and agitation had reigned in the garrison; and now it became still more boisterous, from the violent disputes, that hourly arose between the capitani.

A few of those, least distinguished by their courage, suddenly adopted Beysade's opinion, and maintained to-day the necessity of resisting to the last as warmly, as they had hitherto endeavoured to prove the impracticability of a prolonged defence. Ibrahim had now become as contemptible, in their sight,

as he had yesterday seemed terrible. It was soon perceived, however, that the charm, which so completely dissipated their fears, and filled their minds with this unwonted security, was *rum;* that the bombastic expressions, suggested by liquor, were not to be mistaken for the dictates of sterling courage; and that little confidence could be placed on men, whose hearts ebbed and flowed with the fullness or emptiness of the bottle.

Without entering into further details, or relating the difficulties, that were surmounted, before the garrison could be induced to place any reliance on the good faith of the pasha, or the latter be brought down from his high pretensions, it will suffice to say, that it was definitively agreed upon on the 18th, that,

"1st. On the 21st of May, Ibrahim shall send before Neocastro three European merchant-vessels, *freighted at his own expense*, to transport the garrison of that fortress to Calamata.

"2dly. Before the Greeks evacuate Neocastro, three officers of Ibrahim shall be admitted into the fortress, to form an inventory of the ammunition, stores, and provisions which it contains.

"3dly. Previous to embarking, the Greeks shall all (with the exception of the superior officers) surrender their arms into the hands of the above-mentioned Turkish officers.

"4thly. A French and an Austrian man-of-war will escort the Greeks to Calamata."

Such was the aversion of Ibrahim to the English, that he would never consent to the proposal, repeatedly made him by the Greeks, of requesting a man-of-war of that nation to escort them. In compliance with the demand of the garrison, the pasha

allowed three individuals*, chosen by them, to proceed to Modon, in order to inspect the merchant-vessels, destined for their embarkation, and to communicate with the officers, commanding the men-of-war, that had offered to escort them. The Austrian captain was Mr. Bandiera, and the Frenchman M. Le Blanc, commander of the Amaranthe. They returned the next day, and assured us, that these two naval officers had pledged their honour in guarantee of the punctual observance of the capitulation; although it would appear, from their subsequent behaviour, that they only expressed their readiness to escort the Greeks to Calamata.

* These individuals were, the eparch of Neocastro, Cavaliere Callegno, and Anastasius, a Greek, who although, according to his statement, an English agent, thought it no breach of neutrality to act, during the siege, as keeper of the powder and distributor of cartridges.

CHAPTER XXXV.

The Author receives an invitation to become Ibrahim's physician—Capitulation of the Greeks—Author's application to Captain Johnstone—Conduct of that officer—Author compelled to enter Ibrahim's service—Applications to the British government in his behalf—Is at length allowed to depart.

Anastasius informed me, that he had had a long interview with Ibrahim Pasha, who, among other things, inquired as to the numbers of killed and wounded in the fortress, and the manner in which the latter were treated. The answer of Anastasius naturally brought the conversation upon me; and partly giving way to his national disposition to exaggeration and fondness for the marvellous, and partly dazzled at the brilliant results of modern surgery, and its superiority over the practice of mountebanks and quacks, which he had hitherto only witnessed, the Greek spoke of the English surgeon of the garrison in the most hyperbolical terms.

Ibrahim, who happened then to have dismissed his private surgeon, a Greek named Gabrina, feeling the absolute want of another, requested Anastasius to inform me, that, on the Greeks surrendering the fortress, he would retain me in his service. Struck immediately with the embarrassing situation, in which I was placed by this determination of the pasha, and aware, that if I delayed any longer, my fate was inevitable, I formed the resolution of escaping by night with a Zantiot boat; the men of which remained still

in the fortress, watching a favourable opportunity to depart, unperceived by the Turkish boats, which were constantly cruising before the mouth of the port. To animate them I gave them a written engagement, by which I bound myself to pay the sum of forty dollars on our arrival at Zante. I laid aside my Albanian dress, and, assisted by one of Callergi's men, who proved as bad a tailor, as he had shown himself a gunner, I put together, in the best way I could, a pair of trousers, borrowed a worn-out jacket from a sailor, and exchanged the fézi and turban for a hat. Thus equipped, I presented myself before the capitani, and informed them of the cause of my metamorphosis; and begged them, since they were on the eve of surrendering the fortress, and my services consequently no longer necessary, to allow me to embark during the night, and thus avoid the fate that awaited me, should I attempt to leave it as one of the garrison.

Iatraco, out of partiality to a colleague, pleaded so strongly in my favour, that I received the permission I sued for. The soldiers, however, apprised of my intentions, looking still on the capitulation with a suspicious eye, and judging both by their own conduct and the habitual behaviour of Mussulmen, unable to persuade themselves, that some hidden treachery was not concealed under the appearance of generosity and good faith, clamorously insisted on retaining a man, who, should the negotiations in the sequel be broken, and they obliged to defend themselves to the last, would be of essential use to the garrison. Seeing no alternative, I, of course, was compelled to submit. The boat rowed off during the night, and succeeded in escaping the vigilance of the enemy.

Owing to various causes, the European merchant-vessels did not enter the harbour before the 22d. A thousand sinister interpretations were given by the Greeks to this delay. But their anxiety was in a great measure dissipated on seeing them arrive, and especially on perceiving, shortly after, an English schooner of war enter the harbour. It was the Chanticleer, commanded by Captain Johnstone. A shipwrecked individual does not hail, with more joy, the unexpected assistance, that comes to rescue him out of his desperate position, than I experienced on seeing the British flag.

The next morning (23d), at daybreak, Ibrahim's officers were received into the town. Mr. Romey, formerly colonel in the service of Naples, but who, after his banishment, had entered as engineer in Mehmet Ali's service, and assumed the name of Halil Aga, accompanied them. After visiting every part of the fortress, and making an inventory of the different warlike stores and provisions, they placed themselves at the northern gate of the town; and as the Greek soldiers passed by, received their arms. Egyptian sentinels had been placed in the form of a crescent, all along the space between the north and eastern corner of the citadel, and the place of embarkation, in order to keep back the motley multitude, which had thronged from Modon, Coron, the ships, and every part of the camp, in order to witness the humiliation of the Greeks. They all shuddered with indignation, at seeing themselves constrained to smother the desire of revenge, which they had so long fondly entertained; their cruel eyes cast wistful glances on the giaours, who thus unexpectedly escaped them; and in their different tongues of Europe, Asia, and Africa, murmured against Ibrahim; who, for-

getting the precepts of the law, not only spared these infidels, but what was more inconceivable, those very men, who, in violation of their most holy engagements, had destroyed every Mussulman, who fell into their power.

More than once did the Greek column stop, and stand mute; pondering on their helplessness, and the surrounding danger; each reading his own fears on the countenance of those next to him. A cry or an incautious sign might in the moment have caused them all precipitately to turn back. A thousand apprehensions agitated them; every disposition, taken by the enemy, appeared to their intimidated and suspicious imaginations, pregnant with danger and treachery. The crescent, formed by the troops, was intended the more easily to cut off their retreat, when the whole garrison should once be out, and thus the more assuredly to butcher them. The boats, which were waiting for them, being all Turkish, might lead them on board the Egyptian ships; or, in imitation of the conduct of the Hydriots, when Neocastro was surrendered to the Greeks, land them on Sphacteria, or the small island in the middle of the harbour, there to let them die of hunger. At last, partly the reassuring words of Ibrahim, partly the confidence, the presence of the Frank naval officers, inspired them with, and, also, a determination arising from despair, induced the first to venture on. When the others, that had purposely kept back, saw that they had been led on board the appointed European vessels, they gathered courage, and, though hesitatingly, followed their example.

As I came out of the gate, following my servant, and the soldiers who carried my luggage, I was met

by the captain of the Egyptian pioneers (a Milanese, named Zuccoli), who was accompanied by one of the cavashes of the pasha. He informed me, that Ibrahim had ordered him to signify to me, that he wished to see me, and desired me to follow him to Soliman Bey's tent. Having ordered my servant to see my things embarked on board the English merchant-vessel, where I hoped soon to rejoin him, I pensively followed Mr. Zuccoli.

On drawing near the Greek suburb, I felt inexpressible joy at meeting Captain Johnstone, who, with two of his officers, was advancing towards the spot where the pasha presided in person over the embarkation of the Greeks. As clearly as my agitation of mind would permit, I related to him the circumstances, which brought me into the service of Greece;—stated to him the embarrassing position in which I was placed; and from which he alone could rescue me. Unwilling to remain with Ibrahim, who had now sent for me to let me again know his intention of retaining me in his service, equally disinclined, were it even in my power, to depart with the Greeks, for whom, I could not but think some snare was laid, I urgently requested him to do me the favour to take me on board his ship, and to grant me the protection, he owed me as an Englishman.

Casting a contemptuous look on my shabby dress, which contrasted so much with his splendid appearance, this officer replied to me, with an air unsuitable at any time, but more particularly, as I thought, at a season when he saw a countryman in distress; "Why, my good fellow, 'pon my word I am very sorry, I cannot do any thing for you. You know you have forfeited every claim to British protection, by engaging in the Greek service, contrary to act of parliament.

You must run the chances you have exposed yourself to, and see to get out of the scrape the best way you can." So saying, he turned round, leaving me to my sad reflections. The simple statement of similar conduct is sufficient, and dispenses from any observations.

I was then conducted to the tent of Soliman Bey, who received me with all the rough politeness of a French trooper. He forced me to squat down round his table, and to breakfast with him. Captain Le Blanc was one of the guests; but as French, as may easily be conceived, is preferable to Arab cookery, he had brought from his ship dishes, which to one forced to live during many days on *vermicelli* boiled in water, seemed delicious. While we were at table, information was brought to us by Mr. Bolognim, instructor of Ibrahim's black body-guard, that the Greeks had all embarked; but that Ibrahim had retained as prisoners Beysadè Torjachi and Tetrako, in retaliation for the manner, in which Ali Pasha and his suite were detained by the Greeks at the surrender of Anapli. This flagrant breach of the capitulation made upon me a very different impression, than it appeared to produce on M. Le Blanc. Seeing him shrugging up his shoulders, and talking, while eating, not less heartily than before, on *le sort de la guerre* with the utmost unconcern, I concluded, that he had never taken upon himself to guarantee the punctual execution of the treaty.

The word *retaliation* filled my mind with apprehensions. For the precedent once admitted as lawful, the Greeks might, with as much right, have been put to the sword, in *retaliation* of their conduct towards the garrisons of Corinth, Monemvasia, Neocastro, and in fact all the Mussulmen who, relying on their oaths, had surrendered themselves into their

power. It is evident that the moderation of Ibrahim, on this occasion, was entirely the result of his generosity and good pleasure, or perhaps of his policy*:—for if the European naval officers thought it no concern of theirs to protest against the undue detention of the two Greek chiefs, they might, on the same principle of neutrality, have as passively witnessed the extermination of the whole garrison.

The refusal of Captain Johnstone, the violation of the capitulation, the want of communication between the French and Austrian naval officers, the profound dislike, Ibrahim always professed to the English, the

* The observance of the capitulations of Neocastro and Old Navarino, are almost the only examples of Turkish good faith recorded in the annals of the Ottoman history. Without referring to more remote periods, it is sufficient to bring to the reader's recollection the conduct of the grand vizier in 1714, when he reconquered Morea from the Venetians. Although the garrisons capitulated under the most favourable conditions, the Turks had not certainly against them any motives of revenge so legitimate as Ibrahim now had against the rebel rayas, who had left nothing undone, that might exasperate to the highest degree the fury of their enemy. Yet the garrisons of Corinth, Argos, Morea Castle, Modon, and Monembaria were then, in spite of the vizier's solemn oaths, unmercifully exterminated. The behaviour of the son of Mehmet Ali, on this occasion, must appear the more extraordinary, when it is remembered, that his youth was characterized by repeated acts of the most wanton cruelty. Some pretend, that he acted in conformity with his father's instructions; but what, I can affirm, had no less influence over his mind, was the immoderate desire, he had, of obtaining a favourable character in Europe, by giving proofs of his superiority over the rest of his nation in civilization and the art of war. Whatever impression, his conduct might produce on the public opinion, certain it is, that it did not operate on the Greeks, in the manner, he had been led to suppose. Instead of trusting to these acts of clemency, they looked upon them as means, the more easily to ensnare them. The vulgar compared him to the cat, which, unable to catch its prey, rolled itself in flour, the more successfully to deceive the mice.

hints given me by the Franks in his service, as to the danger of inflaming his irritable and savage temper, by an ill-advised refusal,—all these were well calculated to excite apprehensions the most cruel. While in this state I was led before the pasha, whose proud and fierce looks by no means reassured me. I felt myself entirely abandoned to the mercy of a barbarian, who, with all manner of apparent right, might have treated me as he thought fit; since, being a foreigner, he could except me from a capitulation, which he might say he had merely granted to Greeks. "What business had you," said he to me through his interpreter Abro, "young Englishman, to serve revolted rayas, fighting against their masters? Legitimate or not, they have some grounds of complaint against us; but what wrong did you ever receive from Mussulmen?"—"I am a medical man," replied I; "and as such, serve no party but that of humanity. Having studied my profession to procure myself a living, I entered the Greek service, because their offers suited me."—"Did the Greeks pay you?" said he, "for I am told, they rather understand taking than giving?" I replied, that certainly I had not found them the most punctual of paymasters. "Well," said he, "if it is the case that you serve humanity, you may now remain with me, who am in need of a doctor; and you may rely on finding me much more punctual in my payments than the Greeks."

Such is the simple, unadulterated relation of the surrender of Neocastro; and of the circumstances which forced me to accept Ibrahim's propositions, to quit the Greek service. It is an easy thing for men,

leisurely sitting by their firesides, to exclaim against my conduct on this occasion; and, strangers to the horrible state of suspense, and the thousand fearful apprehensions, an inexperienced young man cannot but feel on seeing himself in the hands of men, whose very name is used to express cruelty and barbarous caprice, on finding himself surrounded by the ministers of his wrath, who, with eyes fixed on their master, and grasping their arms, stand ready to execute the sentence hinted by his nod:—it is easy, I say, for such men to brand my name with the appellation of traitor and apostate; because I did not offer myself a victim for those, to whom the sacrifice would have been useless; and its value wholly unappreciated. The illusion, which had induced me to volunteer my services to the Greeks, was considerably impaired by the repeated demonstrations I had had of the cowardly and base manner, in which they defended their liberties. My conduct on the occasion was justified by the natural law of self-preservation, and I was obliged to yield to the storm.

But supposing, however, that the endeavours, I made, to escape before the surrender of Navarino; the embarkation of my effects before I was led before Ibrahim; the request I made to Captain Johnstone, to take me on board, did not suffice to prove the little foundation there was, for my having *voluntarily* entered the pasha's service, and *basely deserted, for the sake of better pay, the banner of the cross for that of the crescent;* the measures, I immediately adopted, to enable me to recover my liberty, must incontestably demonstrate to every impartial judgment the falsehood of those reproofs.

On the 12th and 19th of June I wrote to Mr. Hancock at Cephalonia, a gentleman who, during my stay in that island and at Mesolonghi, had shown me

much kindness, requesting him to obtain from the local authorities a passport, without which no vessel would take me on board. It was my intention, as soon as I received it, to embark secretly. I wrote, at the same time, to my father, who was then at Paris, and he transmitted my letter to William Hamilton, Esq., late minister of his Britannic Majesty at the court of Naples, who, in the kindest possible manner, applied immediately to Mr. Canning in my behalf, as will appear by the annexed letters.

"Argostoli, 13th July, 1825.

"My dear Sir,

"It is two months since I received your letter, dated Camp at Nisi, June the 12th, and Modon, 19th ditto, but have been unable to reply to it until now; when the kindness of Captain Williams enables me to write, with some hopes of the letter finding its way to you. On receiving your letter, I immediately applied to Colonel Napier, on the subject of your request, to obtain a passport, but he said, he could not do it of his own power; but requested me to put my communication in writing, which I did accordingly, and it was sent to his excellency the Lord High Commissioner, whose pleasure on the subject has not been made known to me; but Captain Williams says he has Colonel Napier's instruction to make inquiries concerning you.

(Signed) "C. Hancock."

"To Dr. J. Millingen,
"Fortress of Coron."

(Copy.) "Foreign Office, September 8th, 1825.

"Sir,

"I am directed by Mr. Secretary Canning to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 28th ult.

requesting that the interference of his majesty's government may be exerted in behalf of Dr. Millingen, a British subject, who was pressed into the service of Ibrahim Pasha after the taking of Navarino.—Mr. Canning directs me to acquaint you in answer, that the fact (admitted in Dr. Millingen's letters) of his having been found in the service of the Greeks, must preclude Mr. Canning from recommending his case to his majesty's embassy at the Porte for interference; as the protection of his majesty's government cannot be extended to British subjects, engaging in foreign service against an act of parliament.

"I have, &c.

(Signed) "HOWARD DE WALDEN."

"To William Richard Hamilton, Esq.
&c. &c."

(Copy.) "Foreign Office, September 29th, 1825.

"Sir,

"MR. Secretary Canning directs me to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 23d instant, renewing your request, that his majesty's government would interfere to procure the liberation of your son, who having engaged in the Greek service, has since been pressed into that of Ibrahim Pasha, and acquaints you that an answer on this subject has been returned to Mr. Hamilton, through whom your original application was made.

"I have, &c.

(Signed) "JOSEPH PLANTA."

"To Mr. Millingen."

All the sanguine hopes, I had been led to build, on the success of my applications to government at home, and the British authorities in the Ionian islands, having thus been entirely overthrown, I did not, on

that account, despair of succeeding in obtaining the object of my wishes, or cease to exert myself to enable me one moment sooner to leave a service so much opposed to my feelings. On the return of Ibrahim from his expedition in the interior of Peloponnesus, I addressed to him a petition from Coron, requesting, under pretence of ill health, permission to return home; and on my arrival at Modon renewed in person my demand. The pasha absolutely refused it; urging, that since I was unwell, he would allow me to remain at Modon, where I might recover as easily as any where else. After his departure for the siege of Mesolonghi, I profited of every opportunity to renew my instances, and engaged others who had influence over him, to interest themselves in my favour; but, instead of a satisfactory answer, I received the following note from Dr. Lardon, his private physician.

"Sotto Mesolonghi, 6 Marzo, 1826.

"Stimatissimo Signore Millingen,

"Sento con rincrescimento lo sconcerto di sua salute, e m' incresce *sempre più* la di lei disposizione a privarci della sua pregievole persona. Inerendo intanto a' di lei desideri, ed alla imperiosa circostanza che li produce, ho rappresentato il tutto a S. A. in quel modo che ho creduto più favorevole al di lei intento. La stima per altro di S. A. per lei concepita ha fatto sì che se ne sia alquanto doluto, e che non ne abbia per il momento data una decisiva risposta, quale però mi procurerò in una seconda occasione, e non mancherò farnela partecipe.

"Ho l'onore, &c.

"Giov. Lardon."

"Al Signore Doctore Millingen."

The following is an extract from an answer to fresh applications for my dismissal.

"SPERO avrà ricevuta la risposta alle stimatissime sue speditemi, e si tranquillizi, che fra pochi giorni venendo costà con S. A. mi lusingo sarà terminato il di lei affare. La saluto, &c.

"G. LARDON."

"Patrasso, 4 Maggio, 1826."

On Ibrahim's return from Mesolonghi, when I appeared before him, he burst into a violent passion, and reproached me in the bitterest terms for my ingratitude towards him, after the generous manner, in which he had treated me at the surrender of Navarino. "Was I not then, according to every right of war, entirely at his disposal? Could he not then, not only send me to the bagnio, with the other Greek prisoners, but even impale me before the gates of Navarino without any one being entitled to blame him? Far from imitating the conduct, which would have been followed by every pasha in his stead, he had made me his personal surgeon, clothed me, paid me, and treated me with every mark of distinction. Yet, while carrying on the siege of Mesolonghi, application had been made to him by Captain Pechell, demanding my release, under the supposition of my being yet detained as a prisoner. Had I been treated as such? or in what European service could I have received a more ample salary?" This was not the favourable moment to observe to him, that though, nominally speaking, I was not his prisoner, yet virtually I possessed no more liberty than one, reduced to that condition; since notwithstanding my incessant demands to be allowed to quit his service, he obstinately continued to refuse me; and thus retained me against my in-

clination. I then endeavoured to avert the consequences of the resentment of a man, who, when infuriated, becomes more cruel and savage than the fiercest tiger, by attributing Captain Pechell's solicitations in my favour, to the request, my father had been led to make him in consequence of the reports respecting me, published in the newspapers. Persuaded, that, with the Turks, the most prudent and successful policy is to imitate their temporising system, till the decisive moment of unfolding one's intention has arrived; I replied, that, "bound as I should ever be to him by ties of gratitude, yet as the first of all duties was filial duty, I could not but respect my father's opinions, and comply with his wishes. As soon, therefore, as he ordered me to return near him, I trusted that he would allow me to obey."—"Your father, I dare say, like all the English, is an admirer of the Greeks"—added Ibrahim; "but tell him to come and spend but six weeks at Anapli, and if he does not then change his ideas, and entreat you to remain with me, I am willing to forfeit my head."

I might certainly, to this day, have been put off from month to month by Ibrahim, who, like all Turks, are averse to change a physician who has ever been intrusted with the care of his harem, had not the repeated solicitations of Lord Lansdowne, Lord Holland, and Mr. Hamilton in my favour, induced Mr. Stratford Canning to interest himself to obtain from the divan a firman, by which Ibrahim was requested to allow me to quit his service.

It was not delivered by the Zebra, before the middle of September; but as the pasha was still in the interior of the country, his chiaja would not let me go, but bade me wait till the return of his master. In compliance with his request to give him under my

signature a declaration of the motives which, on the surrender of Neocastro, induced me to remain with the Greeks, I wrote a letter to Abro, who was witness to the whole transaction, and carried on the conversation between the pasha and me; and out of it, I shall content myself with giving the following extract, where I appeal to him, in support of the veracity of what I have stated in regard to the conduct, which Captain Johnstone thought himself in duty bound to follow with regard to me on that occasion. "Il n'y eut alors de la part d'Ibrahim ni compulsion ni autre acte d'arbitraire, tant s'en faut qu'il me retînt comme prisonnier; je ne scaurais pourtant dire que ce fut par pure volonté de ma part, que je consentis à ses propositions; vous qui connaissez les lois de l'honneur scaurez bien apprécier les sentiments qui agitaient alors mon ame. Lé refus que me fit alors le Capitaine Johnstone de me recevoir à son bord, et la crainte qu'on ne violât la capitulation en imitation de la conduite des Grecs dans la même circonstance deux ans auparavant, furent les motifs qui me décidèrent à rester au service," &c. &c.

As soon as Ibrahim had returned to Modon in November, I presented myself before him, and now, imboldened by the support I had in my favour, I requested him, in consideration of the letter, addressed to him in my behalf from Constantinople, to grant me the dismissal, which I had so often begged for in vain. I brought to his recollection the note, addressed by him to Captain Pechell, of which I had received a copy; and insisted, since he himself therein acknowledged that I was free, to prove it by allowing me to act as I pleased. In answer to this, I obtained from him the promise that, after the arrival of the fleet, on board of which several medical men had embarked, he would grant my demand.

As soon as the pay had been distributed to the troops, I renewed my demand; and requested his private physician to solicit an absolute, and final answer. Incensed at my obstinacy, and wounded in his pride by a report made to him, that I called it a disgrace to remain in his service, he gave instant orders, that I should be embarked before sunset, and the Chiaja Bey, a faithful interpreter of his will, sent soldiers actually to turn me out of my house. They threw my effects out of doors; and had it not been for the kindness of some French medical gentlemen, who, with their own hands, secured my property, by taking it into their houses, I should certainly have lost every thing I possessed. I precipitately embarked on board a small Austrian schooner, happy to escape any further ill treatment; and, braving tempests and pirates, I reached Smyrna in safety; where the pleasures of regained liberty, and a return to civilized life, made me soon forget the injurious treatment, I had received.

THE END.

LONDON:
PRINTED BY THOMAS DAVISON, WHITEFRIARS.